

California Historical Society Quarterly

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California Historical Society Quarterly

MALASPINA'S VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD

Three important geographical and scientific expeditions were equipped and sent forth during the eighteenth century by the three nations, England, France, and Spain, respectively. The first of these takes precedence, not only chronologically, but in attaining the greatest renown. Notwithstanding the tragic death of the commander of the English expedition (or, more exactly, series of expeditions, between the years 1772 and 1779), Captain Cook was fortunate in having the support of a strong government, desirous of publishing to the world the record of his explorations and scientific investigations. All his papers relating to these voyages were immediately published and translated into many foreign languages, so that the world soon enjoyed the fruits of his labors.

With the French expedition, commanded by Count de la Pérouse, which sailed from Brest August 1, 1780, and was lost on a reef of an island of the New Hebrides in 1788, the world in general is not so familiar. The records of the first two years, together with the collections of natural history, were sent overland from Kamchatka; but the others were lost at sea with their ill-fated commander. Four volumes of those manuscripts which were saved were published in Paris in 1798. They have been translated into English, and in 1829 Captain Dillon, who discovered the wreckage of the French vessels in 1825, published in London a work entitled "A narrative of a voyage in the South Seas," which called attention to the work of these French savants.

Through the publication of the narratives of these two expeditions the world became acquainted with the achievements of their unfortunate commanders; but very different was the fate of the commander of the Spanish expedition sent out for a scientific tour of the world in 1789 and which amassed a large amount of scientific, historical and political information, and made collections in natural history as well as hydrographic and geodetic surveys, in various parts of the world. Of the commander of this expedition, Alexandro Malaspina, and his second in command José de Bustamante y Guerra, and the corps of scientists, the two Pinedas, Haenke, Nee, Bauzá, Espinosa, and others, little is

known—even the Spanish encyclopædias do not mention their names.

Alexandro Malaspina was born in Italy, November 5, 1754, of noble lineage, famous in history from the time of Frederick Barbarossa. His mother, Catalina Melilupi, was of the family of the Princes of Saragua. His youth was spent in Italy; but foreign service then offering greater inducements to younger sons of noble families, he enlisted in the marine guard of Cadiz in 1774, being then twenty years of age, and henceforth called himself an adopted son of Spain. He rose rapidly in rank and went on many voyages in the Atlantic and China seas. In 1784 he was placed in command of the *Astrea*, an exceptionally fine frigate at that time, in which he made a tour of the world. He visited the Philippines, and various ports on both the eastern and western coasts of South America, returning to Cadiz by the Cape of Good Hope. Such a voyage was a good preparation for the scientific expedition to whose command he was soon to be assigned. During this voyage, to which he often refers in his narrative, he was brought into contact with the over-sea colonies of Spain, and his naturally reflective mind found in them a wide field for social and political study; and now this new undertaking would furnish the most important means of continuing a work which he deemed the most valuable to the nation.

No one at that period could have been better fitted than Malaspina for carrying on these sociological and political researches; for though of noble birth, with the manners and bearing of a courtier, he had wide, democratic sympathies, strengthened by the 18th century philosophy and romantic love for justice, equality, and fraternity, and the desire for a return to that state of primitive and simple life which 18th century philosophers considered to be in accordance with nature.

Several years were spent in preparation for the voyage under the personal direction of the Minister of the Navy, Señor Antonio Valdés, and Malaspina. By the recommendation of the latter, two new vessels were built especially for the expedition, the finest instruments purchased, and everything provided that was conducive to the welfare of the officers and crews. A rough copy of Malaspina's instructions to Bustamente was found among the papers relating to the voyage and was printed without any alteration. "These instructions to his immediate subordinate," his publisher remarks, "are a model of prevision, sagacity, prudence, and wisdom. These instructions alone show Malaspina to have been a superior man."¹ Throughout the narrative of the voyage the practical ability of the man is constantly shown, joined with a quiet reserve and modesty as to his own personal merit. Valdés said of

¹ *Viaje alrededor del Mundo*, introduction, p. viii.

him that "for his knowledge, lineage, nobility and elegance of person and manner, proud bearing, firmness of character, and talent for society, he was first in the Spanish navy and joined to that office the love of culture and elevated society which our marine should represent in our American colonies, so as favorably to influence the mind of the Creole, assist politics, and gain other results that the expedition requires."²

The two new corvets, *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, each with a corps of one hundred and two officers, scientists, artists and crew, started from Cadiz July 30, 1789, and after an uneventful voyage arrived at Montevideo September 20, where they remained until November 15.

On arriving at any port everyone went immediately to work, each in his own field; the botanists and naturalists went on excursions inland for specimens; an observatory was set up on shore and calculations made to determine latitude and longitude; elevations of surrounding land were taken; soundings and charts made of bays and neighboring rivers and coasts; the artists sketched and painted scenery and natives; while Malaspina set about his appointed task of gathering historic records of the colony from the period of the early conquerors, as also those of the native inhabitants subjected by the Spaniards, of ascertaining their social and political status, the material and economic resources of the colony, its relation to the mother country, and whether any grievance existed so that means could be taken for its redress in order to strengthen the ties between Spain and her over-sea colonies. While in port, every effort was made to protect the men from the unhealthful conditions that too frequently prevailed. The ships were overhauled, fresh supplies taken on board, and all preparations made for the continuation of the voyage. Interesting and valuable as the whole narrative is, only the briefest outline can here be given.

Leaving Montevideo, the two vessels skirted the coast of Argentina and Patagonia, stopping frequently to make observations and explore rivers, ports, etc.; then went eastward to the Falkland islands; and from there rounded the Horn, followed northward the western coast of South America, and put in at various ports. The celebrated botanist, Tadeo Haenke, joined the expedition at Santiago. When he had learned of the permission given him to join the expedition, he had hurried to Cadiz, where he arrived the same day the vessel left, but too late to go on board. As soon as possible he left for Montevideo, but being again disappointed in meeting the ships, he had crossed the plains and Cordilleras, feeling himself more than compensated for the delay by his collection of 1400 plants, the greater part new and unclassified.

² *Idem*, p. viii.

The entire spring and summer of 1790 were spent by the expedition on the western coast of South America, and it was not until November 16 that the coast of Panama was sighted. After remaining here a month the vessels sailed for Guatemala and New Spain. On January 6, 1791, the two ships parted company, Bustamente on the *Atrevida* going to San Blas, while Malaspina followed along the coast to Acapulco, where the ships were again to meet. In his description of this part of the route Malaspina remarks on the feasibility of interoceanic communication, and later two officers were sent to survey and make reports on the Nicaragua route, which Malaspina thought seemed very practicable. The *Descubierta* reached Acapulco May 27, calms and currents making a long survey of the coast impossible. Malaspina had intended to sail from this port to the Sandwich islands and spend the summer exploring them; but orders came from Spain directing him to go to Alaska and examine carefully the coast between latitudes 59° and 60° in search of the northwest passage, which question had been recently revived by a Frenchman, M. de Buache, who had read a paper in 1790 before the French Academy in which he expressed himself as favoring the belief that the strait of Anian, as described by Maldonado, actually existed. The attention of the Spanish government being thus drawn to the subject, Malaspina was ordered to search for this passage. He makes some rather sarcastic comments on the credulity of the French academician, whose paper, as well as the narrative of Maldonado, was sent him, but immediately commenced fitting out his vessels for the long voyage northward. Lieutenant Espinosa y Tello joined the expedition at Acapulco. He had been sent from Spain for this purpose, and his narrative, published by Lieutenant Novo y Colson, is extremely interesting, containing as it does long extracts from the diary of the naturalist Pineda, who, together with Nee and Haenke, made extensive excursions in the interior of Mexico while the vessels lay at anchor in Acapulco. The viceroy of Mexico, Revilla Gigedo, gave Malaspina all the diaries and reports of previous explorers in northern waters.

Well supplied with men and provisions, the two corvets left Acapulco May 1, 1791, for the northwest coast, which was sighted May 23, at Cape Engaño, discovered by Bodega y Quadra in 1775. Alaska with its numerous islands proved another fertile field for the scientists, and they had many opportunities for excursions while the ships slowly skirted the coast, leaving no opening unexplored that might reasonably be thought to extend inland for any distance. No opening was found in the lofty mountain range, which is a natural barrier along the whole coast, and Malaspina thought it very strange that such a narrative could have been written, considering how very different were the actual

conditions. He concludes his report with the hope that henceforth "modern navigators, disdaining to pursue longer so useless a project, will direct all their efforts either to the inspection of the few points that have not yet been examined or to the successful profits and development of those peaceful ties of society which administer to commerce."³

The non-existence of this mythical passage at last settled, "which will prevent any more such inquiries, which risk lives and property," the expedition sailed southward. Clouds and rain prevented the entrance to the bay of Bucareli, Prince of Wales' island, discovered by Bodega y Quadra in 1775, as they had hoped, and the ships continued to Nutka. Nutka was a supply station still under Spanish control, and Malaspina and Bustamente received a warm welcome; everything was done conducive to supplying them with all that was needed for the voyage to Monterey, which was the next port to be visited. "As the ownership of this country was agitating Europe," Malaspina thought it best to make a careful survey of the archipelago and surrounding country and the launches were sent out with officers and provisions for this purpose. The scientists also explored the interior of the country to such an extent as to prove it to be an island—up to that time Vancouver island was thought to be the mainland. Malaspina describes the fine canals, or arms of the sea, the inlets and islands, and especially the native inhabitants, always a great source of interest to him. He acquired much information regarding their government, origin, customs, commerce, and the geography of the country, all of which was to be incorporated in subsequent volumes of the voyage.

All instruments, effects, and hands were on board on August 28, the day fixed for sailing, and after several vain efforts to disengage themselves, they stood out to sea. The intention at first had been to reconnoitre the coast southward until it joined with that of California; but during the past year, as Malaspina had been informed, Martinez and Quimper had explored the coast and discovered the strait of Juan de Fuca, and although some interesting and useful excursions could have been made in the archipelago east of the strait, it was thought best to expedite the trip southward by sailing at some distance from the coast and approaching it only at certain points which it seemed important to explore. On September 1 they marked the entrance to the strait of Juan de Fuca and saw a sailing vessel which proved to be a merchant frigate of the United States, engaged, Malaspina inferred, in the trade of sealskins, which later would be taken to Canton. At the bay of Heceta, Malaspina notes that there were signs of a river—

³ *Idem*, p. 190.

the Columbia—but he continues onward, only sarcastically remarking, "Doubtless it will not fail to give support to the adherents of inter-oceanic communication who are determined to have the two oceans connected by a northwest passage." The weather was mild and equable as far as Cape Mendocino, and the coast when sighted always presented the same thickly wooded shore. He pays tribute to Captain Cook's excellent description of the coast. From Cape Mendocino to Pt. Reyes the passage was quickly made, a steady northwest wind favoring them; but unfortunately they encountered fogs, which, as Malaspina remarks, "are a true misfortune for the navigator who intends to anchor at San Francisco or Monterey." Still they sighted Pt. Reyes at intervals and located the entrance to San Francisco bay; but the fog thickening, they had to stand off shore as they made their way southward to Monterey bay. They missed the entrance because of the fog, and passed Pt. Pinos, and, finding themselves out of their reckoning, cast anchor. Their position was anything but favorable and they would have made sail except for the increasing darkness and the closeness of the shore. The two ships kept in touch by firing guns, for the fog was so dense that they could not see each other. The wind, fortunately, was favorable, and by cutting the cable, with full sail, and guided by the sound of the breakers, joined at times with that of the cannon fired at the presidio, they managed at eight o'clock on the morning of September 13 to cast anchor in the bay of Monterey, half a mile from the presidio.

When later the fog lifted and the true situation of the port was discovered, Malaspina altered his views as to the undesirability of the harbor as a seaport.

"When the fog dispersed between ten o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon, the brilliancy of the sun and the luxuriant foliage of the surrounding country united with the soft zephyrs of the sea breezes from the northwest. As we looked toward the presidio the variety of objects, which included the soldiers—their figures and faces unusually robust and healthy—the children of the same, busy in tending the herds, or amusing themselves in hitching an animal or mounting a horse, recalled to memory the profit and pleasures of country life. When the view was extended more to the west, hills were seen diversified by a variety of verdure and flowers, as well as by the light and shade of open groves, giving an unobstructed view of the most useful kinds of domestic animals intently grazing in their pastures, about which a thousand kinds of birds peacefully whirled, and the rabbit, hare and squirrel timidly and swiftly leaped. And if a forest not very dense of pine and cypress, and a coast somewhat barren and very rocky, seemed for the moment to break the continuity of this marvelous scene, it

was only that it should again appear with no less agreeable, and much grander aspect.

"The view of a sea, serene and illimitable, toward the north and northwest showed the spectator a thousand species of aquatic birds, engaged now in obtaining food, now in increasing their numbers, or in the evident enjoyment of the tranquility of these regions; the huge whale, the seal and the otter, applauding, sometimes, the smiling aspect of the air, at other times the perfect peace that they enjoy; they are not afraid to disport themselves on the same beach, and on this finally, an infinite number of fish, as various as they are savory, run to the seine and the hook, and, consequently, are very convenient for the exhaustless studies of the naturalist, as well as the continual diversion of the navigator."

"The same attractive features of the coast may be regarded as continuing from San Diego to the port of Monterey, and even to San Francisco; and also the fogs, which are so frequent and so dense as to affect in certain ways the productiveness of the land and the security of navigation, nevertheless, when the disadvantages are clearly examined they appear of no mean value to the country. The winds from the northwest, which prevail during almost all the year, are generally clear, gentle and cold, and those from the southeast which bring the rains are generally strong and humid, and rarely occur more than six or eight times during all the winter. Therefore the fog far from causing real damage, confers a positive benefit, actively conserving the moisture of the soil, mitigating the rays of the sun, and making of autumn a pleasant and new spring.

"Imagine what must have been the agreeable surprise to all of us at seeing in the month of September, some leagues around Monterey, common vegetation blossoming so fresh and abundant that the number of plants restored to Nature by this singular fertility was not less than one hundred.⁴ The fields were adorned with woods, now open, now dense, with pine, alder, [white] oaks, and live oaks, and along with these on the higher summits the red pine, a tree much taller than the rest; and various medicinal plants, some poisonous, and others useful or agreeable, making the number more than two hundred and fifty that Don Tadeo Haenke recognized.⁵ 'The soil consequently, having

⁴ Don Tadeo Haenke found in the laurel the ripe seed and the flower beginning to bud.

⁵ Among the medicinal plants were these botanical ones: the *Malva*, the *tropaeolum-majus*, the *arthemisia-absinthium*, the *arthemisia-dracuncululus*, the *arthemisia-maritima*; *scorconera-dentata*, *solidago-cricetorum*, *solidago-cinerea*, *gentiana-centaurium*, *salvia-frutescens*, *sambucus-racemosa*, *verónica anagallis*, *verbena-carolina*, *rhamnus maritimus*, *sichorium*, *virgetum*, *melissa prostrata*, *oxalis prostrata*, *tumarea achillea*, *millefolium*, etc.; and among the poisonous ones, *rhusradicans*, *rhustóxico*, *dendron*, the *cicutasiides*, and the *hippomane discolor*.

been fertilized with double strength, presents a land,' (says Haenke) 'black and rich, from one to two feet deep, made from myriads of decayed plants, and superimposed upon a sandy, ash-colored clay, which is generally to be found in all the vicinity, except close to the sea where it is composed of shifting banks of sand well adapted for the filtration of the salt which is here produced in large quantities; or of a granite rock whose main stratas are composed of, first, white quartz; second, of blackish mica; third, of yellowish feldspar; forming generally an angle of 80° to 90° with the horizon, its general direction being to the southwest, and crossed from top to bottom by a layer, generally so near that it does not exceed more than one or two inches, of pure granulated, and whitish, quartz.'

" 'The composition of rock that forms the inner bone, so to speak, in the vicinity of Monterey,' Haenke found on analysis, 'is a whitish or yellowish rock extremely light in weight, dry and friable to the touch, crumbling and liable to stain; it is composed mostly of clayey marl, very suitable for building and imperceptibly converted into carbonate of lime, according as it is near to the summit of the mountains. Everywhere it is convenient for making mortar, although not of the best quality, by mixing with it a large quantity of clay, which effervesces, though slowly, in the nitric acid. All the rocks are of the same class, which in great masses border and make terrible all the coast north and south of Carmelo river.'

"According to the natives, various petrifications of testaceans, and also some dendrites, are easily found on the more elevated hills that lead from the presidio to the mission, and the shores produce in abundance the shell commonly known as the shell of Monterey, and which naturalist call *Alyotis Myde*.

"Whilst difficulty is offered to navigation by the frequent and dense fogs, by which Nature seems to wish to conceal the stars and the land in these regions, it is compensated by a sounding sufficiently off the coast, and by the special fact that the winds never blow across it, and that these same northwesterners, or southeasters, which follow its direction, seldom, or never, can be called tempestuous. On the other hand it is clear that these continual fogs cannot be favorable to the cultivation of all kinds of seeds, for it is well known that many kinds of grains, and almost all cultivated fruits, need more or less of the sun's heat so that their seed can mature and ripen. This unfavorableness causes, in effect, a notable difference between the products of our missions on the shore and those situated in the interior of the country. Notwithstanding it is noticed that the maize, the most useful for human life, appears less sensitive, and particularly wheat, to the lack of the sun.

"We must, however, except from the above mentioned disadvantage, the missions fronting the Santa Barbara channel, where, maybe the islands that form it receive and check the fogs, or maybe its direction east and west, does not afford an opportunity for the north-westerners to act with the same force as in other places. Certainly they obtain more natural and permanent heat, and with it, harvests more certain and abundant, as the mission fathers have repeatedly assured us.

"The kinds of grain principally sown and harvested in these missions of New California are wheat, barley, maize, beans, chick-peas, lentils, peas and vetch. Also many of them have fruits, those of San Buenaventura and San Diego have grape vines, and in that of Santa Clara they raise particularly fine and abundant pears, peaches, and plums; the abundance of water and the beautiful clear and temperate climate of the country contributing to produce them. Likewise they have the fruit-stones or seeds of fruit trees, that Count de la Pérouse and Viscount de la Langle left when they were in Monterey in September, 1786, extending their generosity by leaving likewise different grains of the best quality which at the present time have greatly increased in the missions of San Carlos."⁶

The astronomical instruments were landed in order to obtain the latitude and longitude by the marine clocks, and excursions by the scientists were immediately planned, while the crews were recuperating from the long voyage and gaining new strength for the prospective return voyage to the torrid zone, being supplied with abundant and various foods, "and given as much liberty as was compatible with their duties." Monterey was very favorably situated, both for recreation and research in zoological and botanical fields. "Certainly," says Malaspina, "it is difficult to find another place better adapted to either purpose. There were many days so placidly serene that there was not the least interruption in the astronomical observations . . . Plans were soon made for pleasant jaunts in the afternoons, sometimes excursions on horseback to the mission not far from the Carmelo, or interesting walks in the vicinity, and finally a prompt reunion of all on board ship when the smaller boats returned; thus the sailors could not but be greatly strengthened." The vegetation at Monterey was a great surprise to the botanist, Haenke, especially along the borders of the Carmelo near its mouth, where there was found a great variety of plants, whose seeds, he inferred, had been brought from the interior by the winter rains. At various South American ports Malaspina had found traces of the unfortunate French expedition, and here again at

⁶ The tokens of humanity that these French navigators have left in the missions of New California deserve the highest eulogies.

Monterey he was to hear reports of the visit made there by Count de la Pérouse five years previously. "Several persons had known him and all united in admiring the qualities that characterized the individuals of that expedition. The observatory of Mr. Dagelet remained in the storehouse on the beach, Lamanon and the Abbot Monzes stayed several days at the mission where they made their geological examinations and botanical excursions, de Vancij had left a little sketch of much skill representing the reception given to de la Pérouse and Langle and many of their officers at the mission, and finally, we had found, as worthy tokens of that expedition and of the humanity of their leaders, a number of seeds and fruit trees, now propagated at the mission in the neighborhood, and also a little machine for grinding wheat, which Viscount de Langle had presented to the fathers of the mission."⁷ The scientific data of their work had, as usual, been kept in reserve, and so Malaspina could make no comparison between their results and his own. From Father Matias de Lasuen, president of the mission, of whom Malaspina speaks in the highest terms as a man "truly apostolic and of rare learning and manners," many incidents of the French commanders and officers were learned; "for we were not indifferent to any information, however trivial, of the French expedition." Efforts were made to recover the cables lost off Pt. Pinos, but owing to the fog and the difficulty of anchoring near the shore on account of the rocks and surf, the launches after a few days' search, returned without them.⁸

"But, turning from these pleasant thoughts, we pass now to the interesting examination of our species, with the useful additions obtained from the reports offered by the missionaries. We will not tire the reader with the number and the names of the many nations that inhabit California from its southern extremity to the above named parallel of 43°. Neither will we occupy ourselves with the origin, or the foundations of their religious principles, but including all these confederations under the general name of Californias, we will examine first those characteristics which all have in common and will distinguish presently those in which each separate tribe diverges.

"We shall inquire in the first place the number of these inhabitants —although it was not easy to determine it exactly we shall not depart

⁷ *Viaje alrededor del Mundo*, pp. 196-197.

⁸ The above and following quotations of Malaspina are at the close of the chapter entitled, *Las Californias*. The entire chapter has been translated, but as the greater part is only a summary of previous explorations, to be found elsewhere, it was thought best to confine this article to the personal observations made by Malaspina at the port of Monterey, the only place in California where he disembarked. E. C. G.

much from the truth—adding to it the present population of our missions, which was indicated in Old California by the census of 1768, already cited, and the probable conjectures that have been supplied by national travelers during the different explorations made until now.

“These are the engineer, Don Miguel Costanzo, in his land expedition in 1769 from San Diego to San Francisco; the different journeys of Don Bautista de Ansa west of the Colorado river; the excursion of Lieutenant Moraga east of San Francisco; the manuscript diaries of our navigators from San Francisco to Cape Blanco; and the reports of our missionaries and others acquired by us, by which data the total population of Indians can be computed as follows:

“Inhabitants of Old California according to the census of the year 1768.....	7,898
Idem of those [persons] at the present time belonging to the missions recently established by the Dominican fathers and who were still nomadic at the time of registration	4,000
Inhabitants of nations located between San Diego and San Francisco at the time of our arrival in 1769.....	15,000
Idem of scattered tribes contiguous to the Yumas and west of the Colorado river, including the Danzantes, and the villages east of San Francisco, according to the reports of Commander Ansa and Lieutenant Moraga.....	4,000
Idem of the coasts near Cape Blanco.....	4,000
Idem of the islands according to a careful estimate of the missionary fathers.....	6,000

“As a result of this estimate, finally, all the population of California from Cape San Lucas to Cape Blanco, was, approximately, 41,000 souls at the time of our entrance into California in the years 1769 and '70 to the subsequent passage by land between this province and the province of Sonora in 1774 and '75. The present population of our missions of New California reported at the end of the year 1790, being 7,718, without the Spaniards and other castes, called white people in America, who are allotted to the four presidios of Monterey, San Diego, San Francisco, and Santa Barbara, and the two colonies, or settlements, of San José de Guadalupe, and the Reina de los Angeles.

“It is well to mention that the above calculation is based on the positive certainty that New California has, generally speaking, a population only on the sea-shore, and that this population diminishes as it continues eastward toward the interior country; all the above mentioned travelers are united on this point, and the inland travels

of Father Francisco Garcés, from Sonora to San Gabriel, and from the vicinity of the Colorado river, northward to latitude 36° , confirm this opinion; to whose testimony can be added that of the converted neophytes of our missions; none of those questioned by us on this point mentioned the existence of nations of any size to the east, on the contrary when they wished to specify confederations hostile to each other they always located their position north to south and never to the east. Also, with reference to a great want of population inland, we should not omit to mention that not the least notion of a horse had been found on the shores at the time of our settling in New California; now, the case being that the repeated expeditions made into New Mexico during the last century, and the consequent robbery of our horses made by the neighboring Indians would surely have caused some animals of so much strength and usefulness to be transported to these regions if there had been tribes capable of waging war and acquiring them.

"Lastly, in order not to risk ourselves in the vast field of conjectures, and to confine ourselves in exposition to that which has been actually seen and at present known, it will be necessary to bear in mind that all that has previously been said, and all that follows about New California, is confined to the sea and a line that, starting from the Colorado river, goes as far as the latitude of Cape Blanco, in a direction parallel to the coast, and some 30 or 40 leagues distant from it. The country in the latitude running to the east of this line as far as New Mexico, and the interior provinces of New Spain, remains an unknown country of which we will treat in another place.

"All the modern national explorations, verified by not a few careful, but systematic, persons, agree in showing two very distinct nations; one of hunters, almost entirely without fixed habitations, extending along the coast from the port of San Francisco to Cape San Lucas, which, therefore, was called the aborigines of the country; the other settled in the islands and mainland of the channel of Santa Barbara, and given to fishing. These are industrious, sociable and as inclined to advance in civilization as the others are to avoid it or even to abhor it. From what we have learned from the voyages of General Vizcaino, and from our last voyages, or from the reports of our missionaries, there can be no doubt that this nation has emigrated from elsewhere, and it will offer certainly one of the most important subjects of investigation for the history of the human species; what we should wish to have been able to determine would be whether this is a branch of the Malays, so prone to spread from west to east,⁹ or if they came

⁹ See diaries of Captain Cook to the Sandwich Islands.

from the northern provinces of Asia, whence they could have migrated by the aid of navigation, as their having reached an advanced state in that art would give reason to suspect, for they use charts regularly made and well-contrived. But being able to venture only vague imperfect ideas on this matter, we will leave, therefore, its investigation to future travelers, who will take sufficient time to develop this point with the clearness it requires."

"Our interviews in Monterey with the natives in the neighboring missions of San Carlos—two interpreters who were living at the time in the mission also aided¹⁰—have supplied us with considerable data for this useful comparison. Three different tribes in perpetual enmity with each other live united at present in the mission, and in all three the same superstitions are rooted, the same costumes and adornments, an equal love of dancing, a like mode of life, an equal modesty in the women, and lastly all those qualities that are found in the southern tribes so well characterized in the history of Father Venegas. All unite in having 'that prodigious weakness and laziness,' says the writer of this history, 'so that they pass their lives in perpetual inaction and idleness, in horror of every kind of work and labor.'

"These tribes call themselves the Runsien, the Eslenes, and the Vaysh, and those continuous to Santa Clara and San Francisco, the Tmuracan, and Aspasniac. All of them are in continual war 'having aversion and hatred and being inflamed to vengeance by the slightest causes, but with, or without these, becoming peaceful after making it, and even before it has been fully settled.'"¹¹

"Turning our attention to the Santa Barbara channel and the islands that form it, the spirit seems to gain new courage at seeing vindicated in this rude but happy colony the noble promptings of man that adjacent nations so shamefully offend. It is composed at the present day, according to most reliable accounts, of some 21,000 persons; 15,000 settled on the mainland and the other 6,000 on the islands; they have remained settled until their social principles, mode of life, physiognomy, figure, and even their very capability all concur to characterize this nation as being quite different from the others that inhabit this part of the continent. They live united in the villages, the houses of which are spherical in form,¹² covered with rushes, and

¹⁰ These were two young men converts of adult age, both favored in having a clear understanding, and above all so advanced in our language that there could not be any equivocation in interpreting our questions or of their replies. It must also be understood that these interrogations were made with all precaution possible, with gentleness, confidence, leisure and confrontation.

¹¹ The same expressions are found on the subject in the Compendium already cited by Padre Venegas.

¹² This description has been taken from the expedition of Don Miguel Costanzo, whose statements the missionary fathers confirm.

some twenty yards in diameter. Each house contains three or four families. The fire-place is in the center and in the upper part they open a vent so as to give an outlet to the smoke. The character of these people is affable; their figure is good, likewise their countenance; they are fond of painting themselves and use for adornment large tufts of feathers. They go entirely naked, and only in cold weather wear seal-skin capes, or mantles, made of strips of the same skins, which they weave together, twisted in such a way that the fur remains outside, and makes a woof with the web of these threads. The women dress with much modesty, encircling the waist with deer skins, which cover the leg half way, and a little cape of otter skin over the body. They are beautiful in appearance, and very industrious. They weave the baskets and vessels of reeds that they use in eating and drinking and for holding seeds—since the people do not know the use of clay—and give to these handiworks a thousand different graceful forms, according to the use for which they are intended.

"The men make beautiful bowls of wood, firmly inlaid with coral or bone, and some vessels of large capacity contracted at the mouth, which appear as if turned by a lathe, and with a polish so perfect that anyone would say it is the finished handiwork of a skilled artisan. The father president of the missions at Monterey gave us different specimens of these excellent handiworks, which were afterwards sent to the Royal Cabinet. The large vessels which they use for water are made of rushes strongly woven, coated with pitch inside, and of the same shape as our earthen jars. In order to eat the seeds that they use in place of bread, they roast them first in large bowls, placing among the seeds some small stones, or pebbles, heated hot. Immediately they shake the bowl, so as not to burn it, and the seed being roasted they pound it in stone mortars, perfectly made. The patience and skill that they exercise in finishing these articles are certainly worthy of admiration and are so appreciated even among themselves, for when at death they cease such work they are placed on the grave as a monument which will always preserve their industry and skill.

"They bury their dead, their cemeteries being within the village itself, and the funerals of their chiefs are conducted with great pomp; they erect some high poles above their bodies on which articles are hung that they have used. They also put on the same place some large pine boards with different paintings which doubtless serve to illustrate the exploits of that individual.

"Plurality of wives is not permitted, and only the chiefs have the right to live with two. Married persons have separate beds placed on platforms raised from the ground with some mattresses, or simply

sleeping mats or rush-matting, and pillows of the same kind. These beds are hung with similar mats which serve for decency and as a protection from the cold.

"The father president of the missions has recently asserted that they have adopted the use of the folding beds, copying with much skill those of Europe.

"There is among those natives a class of men that live like women. They associate with them, wear the same dress, and ornament themselves with shells, earrings, necklaces and other feminine ornaments, and are treated with great consideration among their people. They are called *joyas*, and the abominable vice that comes from this custom has extended as far as the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara, according to incontestable proofs of the missionaries who have caught several in the act of transgression.

"The industry of these natives is unexcelled in the construction of their canoes of pine, which are from eight to ten yards in length, and one and a half in breadth. No iron whatever enters into their structure, and in order to fasten the boards they make holes at equal distances, one inch from the edge, matching each other in the upper and lower boards, through these holes they pass stout thongs of deer sinews, and then they pitch and calk the seams, painting the whole in very bright colors. For handling them they use double-bladed oars, with which they acquire an inexpressible velocity and lightness. Three or four men go out to sea in them.

"Fish abound on their coast. They know all the arts of fishing, and have communicated with the natives on the neighboring islands, where they obtain certain coral beads that serve in this land instead of money, although they value more highly the glass beads the Spaniards give them, in order to attain which they offer their boats, skins, wooden plates, and everything else they possess.

"The principal food of these inhabitants is fresh fish and various seeds, like acorns, gruels and porridges of corn and other different foods. In this large and peaceful society, an abiding peace, a positive love of concord, of consolidation and social life reigns, and, in general much courteous attention is shown to strangers. Never is to be seen in their hands, nor in their huts, other tackle for fishing than their own, and up to the present time they have not given the slightest indication that would show disaffection toward the weak nations, their neighbors, nor does there exist the least trace of past discord between them, of rancor, or jealousy; and the inhabitants of the islands, drawn either by curiosity, interest, or custom, live now in large numbers among those who dwell on the continent. Happy are those who are con-

tented in the situation in which Nature has placed them, without enmity toward their neighbors, without conflicts about property, and free from the ambition that torments cultured Europe, living long ages in that peaceful state the beneficent mother of mortals offers them!

"We have not been able to ascertain in spite of all endeavors, what was the influence or authority of the caciques enjoyed, nor if there existed a supreme chief who ruled over all.

"From the statements we have obtained and those the missionaries gave us, this is the only deduction that has any foundation: that the authority of the first is limited, and the second is entirely lacking; nor were there such in the remote part as national travelers have inferred, and all speak of the union that exists in this confederation, citing as an example that on various occasions the caciques, or chiefs, of different villages met at one village."

"To the characteristics already mentioned these natives join that of gratitude. The father president of the missions himself gave two examples clearly illustrating this quality; one was of a pagan boy, who, one afternoon, was given a few glass beads. He returned the following day with his father in order to give the president in return a large quantity of pine-nuts. The other example had reference to an old cacique, whom the father president sometimes visited. One very rainy night in particular, when the chief's attacks of illness were very serious, he had sent for the father; soon after he recovered, and came personally to the mission, even with his weight of years, and from his rancheria more than eight leagues distant from the mission, and showed how much the remembrance of the past visits had touched him, and expressed the hope that they would not fail in the future.

"The introduction of the Gospel among the border islanders, it was stated, has been to the present time very difficult. It has also been observed that abortion, by the aid of certain herbs, is the custom of the women, so as not to spoil themselves, so they say, and thus be less pleasing to the eyes of their husbands, and these readily cut the hair of their wives for any frivolous cause. The villages of the channel missions and particularly those of San Buenaventura already weave wool very well, and this the greater number of neophytes obtain for clothing. Their inclination for society and civility increases each day more and more, and manufactures and agriculture tend to make them more firmly rooted."

"The price of cattle, fruits and grains, as regulated by tariff in all the establishments in New California in the year 1791, was the following:

	PESOS	REALES
"For a bull over two years.....	3	....
For a bull of three to four years.....	4	....
For a cow of the stock-yard, or young.....	4	....
For a yoke of oxen.....	5	....
For a calf or heifer of one year.....	1	4
For a milk cow.....	5	....
For an arroba [25 lbs.] of jerked beef.....	....	6
For an arroba of fresh meat.....	....	2
For an arroba of tallow unclarified.....	1	2
For an arroba of tallow clarified.....	1	6
For an arroba of butter.....	2	4
For an arroba of tallow candles.....	2	4
For an arroba of lard.....	3	....
For a pig of two years.....	3	....
For a pig of three years.....	4	....
For a sucking pig.....	1	....
For a sheep of more than two years.....	2	....
For a sheep of two years.....	1	4
For a lamb, yearling.....	1	....
For an arroba of wool, uncleaned.....	1	4
For an arroba of wool, cleaned.....	2	....
For a kid.....	....	2½
For a buck.....	1	....
For a buck fleece.....	1	....
For a goat or ewe.....	....	6
For a dressed goat, two years old.....	1	....
For a hen.....	....	3
For a pullet.....	....	2
For a chicken.....	....	1
For a cock.....	....	2
For a pair of pigeons, domestic.....	....	2
For a pair of squabs.....	....	2
For three eggs.....	....	½
For a dozen quail.....	....	2
For a rabbit.....	....	½
For a hare.....	....	1
For a hide, undressed.....	....	3
For a hide, sole-leather.....	2	....
For a deer-skin, undressed.....	....	2
For a buck-skin, dressed.....	1	4
For an antelope skin, dressed.....	1	4

	PESOS	REALES
For an antelope skin, female, dressed.....	1	2
For a pound of cheese.....	---	1/2
GRAINS		
For a fanega [1.60 bushels] of wheat.....	2	....
For a fanega of maize.....	1	4
For a fanega of beans or lentils.....	2	4
For a fanega of chick-peas.....	3	....
For a fanega of vetch.....	1	4
For a fanega of barley.....	1	....
For an arroba [25 lbs.] of flour, common.....	1	2
For an arroba of flour, bolted.....	1	4
For an arroba of flour, superfine.....	2	....
ANIMALS OF DRAFT OR SADDLE		
For a horse, broken.....	9	....
For a mare of three years.....	4	....
For a colt, unbroken of three years.....	5	....
For a filly, about two years.....	3	....
For a mule, female unbroken, three years.....	16	....
For a mule, broken.....	20	....
For a young mule, unbroken of three years.....	14	....
For a horse or especial mule that can be mated.....	---	....
For a burro, common.....	6	....
For a burro, for breeding.....	7"

The purposes of their sojourn in Monterey having been accomplished, the collections for the Royal Cabinet made, soundings taken, maps, charts, sketches, and paintings made of the bay and surrounding country, the two corvets set sail September 23 for Acapulco. Keeping well off shore, they sighted land only at intervals. On October 6 Cape San Lucas was sighted. Here the two vessels again separated, the *Atrevida* sailing direct to Cape Corrientes, so as to survey the coast from there to Acapulco, and the *Descubierta* coasting along the peninsula and then to San Blas. There they made only a four days' stay, owing to the very unhealthful condition of the port—the inhabitants of this region presenting a strong contrast to the men on board ship—fearful lest they should contract the deadly malarial fevers, "emanations arising from the swamps." The heat, rains and swarms of mosquitoes were intolerable; the observatory was not, as customarily, set up on shore; no excursions were made; and on October 14 they set sail from a port of which Malaspina had formed a very unfavorable opinion. On the 19th the vessel anchored once more in the bay of Acapulco by

the side of the *Atrevida*, which had arrived three days before. Many causes joined to make their return to Acapulco pleasant, not the least being that they here received letters and papers from Europe. Bustamente and many of his officers were gratified by a rise in rank. Haenke and some of the other scientists started off on their usual botanical explorations; while reports came from the two naturalists, Pineda and Nee, who had remained in Mexico, of the great success of their expeditions. They had made large collections of specimens, covering "some four hundred leagues of territory." Their reports, together with many sketches of the country traversed were to be incorporated in the work of the expedition. Malaspina had also acquired the diaries and important reports of a northern expedition of the year previous, given him by their author, Lieutenant Salvador Fidalgo. Also D. Arcadio Pineda, during his residence in Mexico, had been examining reports and documents, and acquiring a personal knowledge of the prosperity of the realm, which Malaspina found very instructive. Another report to be inserted in the final work of the expedition was that of the officers sent in the frigate *Sutil* for the exploration of the western coast of Mexico as far as the isthmus of Nicaragua, and to make charts and hydrographical surveys of the lake of that name and the San Juan river, and so decide the question of inter-communication between the oceans—"an object very important for national prosperity," remarks Malaspina.

The replacing of the officers and men (some going on the expedition and others returning to Spain), the overhauling of the ships and provisioning them for the long voyage to the Philippines were preparations that Malaspina felt should be made as speedily as possible; for the health of the men was being undermined by the insalubrious conditions on shore—the frequent rains and hot sun, the rank growth and decay of vegetation, all conducive to fevers of various kinds—so that in a few weeks many of the crew were ill from these disorders, "augmented by their use of strong drink and a preference for their own remedies to those given by the doctor." On the 14th of December, remittances arrived from Mexico, and officers, troops and sailors received their pay until the end of the year; and on the 19th anchors were raised and the vessels sailed for the Philippines and the south seas, returning to Spain by way of the Horn.

On February 11, 1792, two islands of the Ladrões or Mariana group were sighted and Malaspina landed on Guam, where the governor lived. After taking on water, the expedition sailed for the Philippines, and sighted Cape Espiritu Santo on Samar island March 4.

Here among the islands they spent eight months taking observations

and making surveys, while the naturalists roamed over the country making collections of the natural history.

In November they were again under way, and after stopping at various islands en route, arrived in Sidney cove, Jackson bay, New South Wales, in March. Here they spent a month pleasantly, and then departed for the Vavao archipelago, part of the Friendly group, of which Malaspina took official possession for the King of Spain. He was especially delighted with these islands and the simple manners of the natives, who seemed to him to be "living in accordance with nature and in the only true and perfect state, free from all false and abnormal conditions, in perfect harmony among themselves and with their neighbors, and whose beauty and virtue were united in the women with a most delightful naive unconsciousness of their charms."

With great regret the party left this Garden of Eden and made for Peru, where they arrived July 31, 1793. Here Malaspina received news of the rupture between Spain and the French Republic, and soon news of the declaration of war by Spain on France came from Buenos Ayres.

At this point the party broke up, most of the scientists proceeding overland to Buenos Ayres, and the vessels sailed separately in October. The *Atrevida* under command of Malaspina proceeded directly to Montevideo, touching at Talcahuano in Chile and the Falkland islands. The *Descubierta*, commanded by Bustamente, proceeded on much the same course, but after leaving the Falkland islands discovered what is now known as South Georgia, and after leaving there, great fields of icebergs.

Many delays were experienced at Montevideo in putting the vessels on a war footing, but finally they were ready, and leaving June 21, 1794, sighted Cape St. Vincent July 18 without having seen a sign of a hostile vessel.

Malaspina closes his narrative with the congratulatory remarks upon the good fortune attending their long, eventful voyage, "We can only add that during the space of five years and two months the corvets were so fortunate as to lose but ten persons on board or in the hospitals, four on the *Descubierta* and six on the *Atrevida*—two, however, of these latter accidentally fell overboard and could not be saved." The thought of these men brought again to mind the one great loss the expedition had sustained, and the long narrative ends with regret for the scientist whose grave was far away in Manila. "Would to God that the excessive eagerness for the advance of Natural History and the enlightenment of his country had not led finally to the ending of the life of Colonel Don Antonio Pineda, whose premature death those who

have known him in the great theatre of his military and scientific achievements will always mourn."

Malaspina was warmly welcomed by the King, Charles IV, and his Queen, Marie Louise, and for several months he was received at court with great consideration. He was given permission to visit his home in Italy, and while there prepared a plan of the work of the voyage, in which were to be incorporated all the scientific reports of the savants that accompanied the expedition, as well as the social and political data that had been collected. This plan was sent to the King of Spain, and it is inferred by recent writers that it fell into the hands of the unprincipled Minister, Godoy, to whose influence the King and Queen were weakly submissive, and that he used it in misrepresenting Malaspina to the King and arousing his suspicions and antagonism. It is difficult to understand all the petty court intrigues; but one thing is certain, that when Malaspina returned to Spain, conditions were changed. He was, to be sure, treated with much consideration; the King made him a brigadier-general; it was intimated that a high office in government, that of Minister of the Navy in place of Valdés, was to be offered him; Godoy is said to have publicly eulogized him; his reports were gratefully acknowledged, and Padre Manuel Gil, a clergyman of Seville, was appointed as his collaborator in preparing a history of the voyage—for, being a foreigner, Malaspina had never acquired perfect command of the Spanish idiom. Nevertheless, in spite of the outward marks of respect, there was an undercurrent of mistrust on the part of Malaspina's friends, and he was warned not to be outspoken in his opinions as to changes that he felt ought at once to be inaugurated in the foreign policy of the government. Malaspina knew that he was treading on dangerous ground; for in another outline of the voyage sent to Padre Gil, of which a copy is given in the "*Viaje*,"¹³ he spoke of the delicacy and complexity of the political questions. Yet he felt so deeply their importance that he could not forbear giving at some length his opinions regarding Spain and her colonies. The third volume was to be devoted to a "Political examination of the over-sea dominions of Spain," which was to be divided into three books with introduction and conclusion. A very comprehensive study was to be made of the colonies and their history, system of government, commerce, missions, agriculture, mines, manufactures, and industries; and finally, of the means necessary to strengthen the bonds between them and the mother country. That a change of method in the treatment of these dependencies was most urgent if Spain wished to retain them was the

¹³ *Plan para escribir su viaje, dado por Malaspina al Padre Gil*, pp. xxi-xxx.

conviction of Malaspina, and one he felt should be impressed on the government; and no words of advice and no caution to be more guarded in his words and writings could prevent him from giving expression to what he felt was a charge laid upon him by his sense of the wrongs and injustice inflicted by Spain upon her colonies.

The end was what might have been expected from the degenerate and despotic government. On November 23, 1795, Malaspina was arrested and imprisoned in the castle of San Antonio in Coruña. Here he remained eight years. The few extracts from his letters written in prison show the fortitude and calm philosophic mind so often displayed in his narrative of his voyage. "As to my mind," he writes, "I swear it cannot be more tranquil, it does not harbor any fear that would turn me from my road, nor despicable apathy, nor deep dejection. The cause that brought me here makes me repeat that in like circumstance I would do the same again a thousand times."¹⁴

He was liberated through the influence of an Italian friend, Count de Melzi, who was on terms of intimacy with Napoleon. By the aid of the latter, who solicited the release of Malaspina, this was granted on condition that he should never again set foot on Spanish soil. He was taken to Genoa and from there retired to his old home in Lunigiana. His health was enfeebled by his long imprisonment, and he died four years later, April 9, 1809, at the age of fifty-five.

The imprisonment and banishment of Malaspina was but one mark of the rancor of the government; this was extended to all those who went on the expedition, and none of the reports or papers written by the officers and scientists were ever published by the government. "There remain unpublished," says Martin Fernandez Navarrete, in a note in the preface to the volume, "all the sea-charts, and excellent descriptions of the voyage, full of luminous astronomical and mineralogical observations, of physical and political descriptions, and new ideas on the natural history of the countries visited."

This volume, under the title "*Viaje politico-científico Alrededor del Mundo por las corbetas Descubierta y Atrevida, al mando de los Capitanes de navio, D. Alejandro Malaspina y Don José de Bustamante y Guerra, desde 1789 á 1794,*" was published by Lieutenant Don Pedro de Novo y Colson in 1885. It is a quarto volume of 681 pages, with an introduction by the publisher of an additional 19 pages. Various letters copied from the archives relating to the banishment of Malaspina; a copy of the plan of the history of the voyage sent by Malaspina to Padre Gil; letters of Valdés, Minister of the Navy, to Malaspina;

¹⁴ Introduction to the "*Viaje*," p. xviii.

and others relative to matters pertaining to the voyage, and instructions of Malaspina to his second in command, Bustamente, are inserted. Following the narrative are chapters consisting of descriptions and explorations of the Northwest coast, of the archipelago of Navao, of California, of the ports of San Blas and Acapulco, of the river Plata from its mouth to Buenos Ayres, and of the eastern coast to Cape Santa Maria; from Montevideo to Chiloe, Coquimbo, and Lima, with special reference to hydrographical and topographical descriptions of these regions. Another chapter is devoted to a political examination of the country between Chiloe and Coquimbo. Others include an introduction to the vocabulary of the Vavao islands by Lieutenant D. Ciriaco Cevallos; a description of the longitudes of Chili and Peru, by D. Felipe Bauzá; observations on the velocity of sound, and on the latitude, longitude, and variations taken at Santiago, by Lieutenant D. José Espinosa and Don Felipe Bauzá; astronomical observations taken from Santiago to Mendoza and Buenos Ayres in 1794 by Bauzá; the comparison of gravity at different places in the world by D. Ciriaco de Cevallos; and lastly the logbook of the course of the corvets, with a note appended consisting of an interesting letter of Bauzá to Espinosa written at Madrid in 1795 after the return of the expedition, in which he says he calculates that the contemplated history of the voyage "will fill seven volumes; it will contain 70 maps, 70 drawings and cuts, and will cost two million reals." A map of the route taken and an index of the contents complete the ponderous volume. An engraved portrait of Malaspina is given as a frontispiece, and six other engravings, copied from drawings or paintings made by artists on board the ships, are inserted at various places in the work.

It is from a copy of the above described volume that the few personal facts relative to Malaspina have been taken, as also the translated portions relating to California. It is the first English translation that has ever been made of any portion of his work; and it was simply with the desire that more attention should be given to a man who suffered great injustice during his life-time and who seemed destined to an oblivion that he did not deserve, that this slight tribute to his memory is given.

EDITH C. GALBRAITH.

SOME DETACHED NOTES BY HENRY CHAPMAN FORD ON THE MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA.¹

SAN FERNANDO MISSION MAY 1888

The building that was used for the dormitories is at this time well preserved. The length of the building is 235 feet, width 65 feet, estimated height at apex of roof 45 feet. The tiled roof is still unbroken except in one or two places. The material is adobe with a corridor of brick stuccoed, composed of 20 arches front and one at each end. At the west end over the corridor on the roof is a small arch in which a bell is hung. In the east end of this building a chapel has been fitted up in which service is still held monthly. The rooms are now used mostly for the purposes of the Porter Land and Water Company for the accomodation of the men employed on the ranch and for store rooms, and in the rear, some are used as a stable. At the front of this building a road now passes, on the opposite side of which is a number of picturesque weeping willow trees. The old fountain in front of the building is still standing but not supplied with water. The chapel is situated in the rear of the dormitories at a distance of 300 feet. It is in a sadly ruined condition, most of the tiled roof having been removed to furnish material for other buildings leaving the adobe walls to be disintegrated by the action of the elements. The length is about 185 feet, with a width of 35 feet; height of ceiling 26 feet. Outside height of walls about 30 feet. The walls are about 5½ feet in thickness. Two buttresses, one on each side of the chapel strengthen the walls. The front was very simple, a projection 21 by 23 feet at the left and connected with the main structure, having two stories, the upper with an arched window at the front and side. This story probably contained the bells. The old doors, badly dilapidated, are still at the front and south side, the latter about midway of the chapel. Opposite from this is the doorway leading to the cemetery which is situated on the north side. A wall formerly extended along the outer limits of the burial place, but little is left of it. The timbers that

¹ Mr. Henry Chapman Ford came to San Francisco after the fire in Chicago in 1871, and set up a studio in Santa Barbara. During the early '80s he produced a number of etchings of the missions, and finally published a set of twenty-four etchings, together with a letter press. He died about 1895, leaving unpublished a valuable manuscript history of the missions of California. The few isolated notes that we print herewith, which were made at a later date than the manuscript history, are from a note book in the possession of Judge Grant Jackson of Los Angeles. We consider them an important contribution inasmuch as Ford's more pretentious history probably will never be published.

supported the choir are still in place. Under the choir at the left is a curious little room with a low entrance and quaintly painted arched ceiling which was evidently used as the baptistry. In the rear of this is a small building containing a single room having no door and but one window.

A continuous row of buildings connects the chapel with the dormitory building, which were used for the store rooms, baking, for pressing the grapes and olives and for grinding the grains. Some of the old stones and timbers are still to be seen. In front of this line of buildings extending about half way from the chapel, are several brick columns, square and round, with stucco, which formerly supported a roof over a corridor. This line of buildings forms the front of a quadrangle 295 by 315 feet in area, the other sides being made up by the chapel and barracks for the Indians. Two other lines of barracks extend several hundred feet in one direction but detached from the other buildings. A solid stone foundation with brick lined cavities that formerly held large iron cauldrons that were used for trying out the tallow is still to be seen. Directly in front of the dormitories and about 1000 feet distant is an elaborately constructed tank built of brick and stucco.

There are two orchards of olives, probably containing the largest trees in the State, the trunks of some being two feet in diameter. They are of a different variety from the common Mission olive, the fruit being nearly double the size and highly valued for pickling. A few years since, the large tops were cut off leaving only the trunks at a height of six feet from which new branches have sprung, being at this time literally loaded with blossoms. The larger orchard contains an area of about 40 acres surrounded by an adobe wall still standing with only here and there a break. In the middle of this orchard are standing large native palms (*Washingtonia filifera*) the tallest of which is about 55 feet in height, probably the highest palm in cultivation within the limits of the United States. The trunk of this is bare to the height of 45 feet, while those of the others are clothed with the persistent dead leaves of many years growth forming a natural thatch. Some of the palms of Palm valley east of San Jacinto mountain, where they are indigenous, are about 80 feet in height. In the orchard mentioned were many old grape vines, but recently they were all removed and the whole plat is now a barley field. Another garden northeast of the Mission contains about 30 acres also enclosed with an adobe wall. There are also a large number of olive trees and three date palms of the staminate kind which of course have never borne fruit. These are about 30 feet in height. In a little arroyo between this garden and the Mission are a number of specimens of the *Acacia Farnesiana*

which were introduced by the Franciscan Fathers for the perfume of their flowers which are the sweetest of the large family. Trees of the same species are still growing in the old garden of the San Diego Mission.

The San Fernando Mission was well supplied by water.

SAN GABRIEL MISSION

About six miles south from the present site of this Mission is the site of the buildings first founded. The walls of the chapel have long since crumbled and nothing remains of it except heaps of earth that are now plowed over and sown to grain. A number of fragments of the outlying buildings are still standing, a sketch of which was made. The site was considered undesirable and the Mission was removed nearer the mountains. There is little left but the church and an adjoining building used now by the officiating priest.

This church was built of stone and was strongly buttressed, each buttress carried above the roof in a turret with a stone ball for an apex. The outside length of the chapel is 151 feet and width including the buttresses 39 feet, with a thickness of wall about 4 feet. A continuation of the south wall in the rear extends about 25 feet carried to the full height of the church but broken on the outer side by a steplike line, culminating in an arch surmounted by a small iron cross. This wall contains six arches of varied dimensions in which are still hung 4 bells. From a window in the gable of the parsonage the attendant has access to the roof of the room near, where the bells are rung. An arched doorway furnishes access to the room through the tower below. The Campo Santo is at the north side of the chapel and contains three brick tombs, one stuccoed, all other indications of burial being obliterated. A small domed chapel extends from the main structure into this cemetery. In the angle formed by the chapel and a wall extending from the front are a number of large elder trees under which are a colony of bees. Remains of the structure for rendering the tallow are to be seen north of the old cemetery, with cavities for 5 cauldrons and having two well preserved tanks near. The old ceiling of the chapel with its quaint coloring has been recently supplanted by a new one, and the old window apertures have been cut down in the wall, adding a third to the length, and the old glass has been replaced by stained panes.

A straight pathway formerly led from the east door of the chapel one mile and it was lined on each side by lines of the roses of Castile behind which were planted rows of pomegranates. About midway of this walk was a beautiful fountain. An enclosure about a mile square

was surrounded by a high cactus hedge from which immense quantities of the fruit were gathered and relished by the Indians. This tuna bearing cactus was brought by the Padres from Mexico. In this area were the large vineyards of the Fathers from which great quantities of wine and brandy were made in the palmy Mission days. Nothing is left of this great garden except here and there remnants of the hedge, one large date palm and a few old pear trees. For many years the neighboring inhabitants used the old stumps of the vines for firewood. The old town of the mixed bloods still exists with its rambling street and quaint houses contrasting in a marked manner with the modern style of architecture of the cottages and new hotel that have sprung up in the recent boom days on the grounds once sacred to other purposes.

Father Zalvidea [Zalvidea] was (a) more energetic than any of his predecessors. He translated the church service into the Indian tongue and gave a discourse each Sabbath in their language. He also planted the large vineyards and orchards, constructed a dam and mill and by a skillful system brought the water from the mountains and fenced the fields with cactus hedges.

When secularization was accomplished the Fathers at this Mission are said to have been determined that the property should not all fall into the hands of the administrators and they set about killing enormous numbers of cattle and hastily dried the hides and secreted the tallow in pits until a market could be found. They tore off the roofs of the buildings and used the timbers for firewood, cut down the orchards and dug up the vineyards.

Four of the six bells remain.

SAN SALVADOR CHAPEL AT AGUA MANSA (JUNE 1888)

This chapel was not established by the Franciscan Fathers but seems to have been built for the accomodation of the Mission Indians who were scattered along the Santa Anna river below San Bernardino where the soil was rich and water could be easily obtained for irrigation. It was established in 1854. The building had adobe walls set upon hewn timber sleepers with stone foundations and upright wooden posts at the corners.

The dimensions were 58 feet in length by 22 feet 6 inches in width. The roof was covered by shakes instead of tiles. The dormitories consisted of a two roomed adobe at the right and connected with the chapel. The walls of the chapel are ruined and but little is left to mark the dimensions. A bell was cast at this place in 1866 under the direction of a Sonoranian and was hung on a bar

supported by two posts in the front of the chapel but was afterward suspended from a strong branch of a cottonwood where it still hangs although the tree is dead with the whole crown cut away. The bell was dedicated to Santa Guadalupe and bears the following inscription in very rude letters: "S. S. D. A. 1866 N. S. DE GVADALVPE." It is rudely shaped and in casting a small hole was left near the top, but it has a clear silvery tone. It is now only rung at the death of one of the inhabitants. In 1862 a great flood occurred in valley washing away many of the houses, which had a tendency to scatter the people who feared other visitations of like character. Two rude white marble posts quarried in a hill near Colton not far from the settlement were set up in front of the chapel and mark the limits of the water and are still standing. There are still remaining quite a number of the old adobes along the valley occupied by the descendants of the earlier inhabitants.

COHUILLA INDIANS AT SAN JACINTO

There is a rancheria of this band scattered along the San Jacinto river near the western base of the mountain numbering about 300 persons. Some families live in small adobe houses but the greater number occupy structures of a more simple character, being made of a frame work of poles covered with tules or willow brush, the main structure being in the form of a house with two thatched roofs, and other square enclosures are covered in like manner in the immediate vicinity. The band have a *capitan* or chief who is over 90 years of age on whom we called to pay our respects but found he was absent from home looking up his cows. Near his house is a comfortable looking school house. They cultivate small patches of land which can be easily irrigated and many of the males find employment among the white inhabitants of the valley. They still manufacture baskets and pottery some of which we obtained.

TEMÉCULA RANCHERIA, PAUBA

Scattered along a little valley which opens from the Little Temécula valley are 40 or 50 families of Indians mostly living in tule and willow huts who cultivate considerable sized patches of land, raising wheat, barley, peas and other crops.

They have a wooden school house where the children are taught 4 months of the year. The crops are not irrigated and their supply of water for domestic purposes is obtained from springs and wells.

We saw an old lady in the process of making baskets. The material used is grass and a hard rush. The color for the black

strands is obtained by placing them in a decoction of Yerba Santa and elder blossoms. We visited several buildings and obtained a few photographs. At one house we saw an old woman who we were told was about 100 years old.

PALA

A dependency or Mission station established by the Fathers of San Luis Rey situated on the San Luis Rey river about 18 miles from the parent Mission. The location is in a beautiful valley surrounded by mountains, the Palomares range rising in the rear.

The present condition of the buildings is ruinous, but little being left except the portion used for the chapel and three or four attached adobe structures which are occupied by the old Indian and his family who act as custodians of the Mission. The chapel is a rude long low structure about 125 feet in length and only 20 feet in width. The floor is laid with tiles about one foot square and the roof is tiled with tiles brought from the parent Mission. The roof became decayed many years ago and the whole except a portion over the altar was newly built and it is understood that at that time the tiles were brought from San Luis Rey. The altar is of the rudest description with a fair statue of San Luis and of the Virgin. A very crudely constructed figure of San Antonio, the patron Saint of the Mission, still exists said to be made by the Indians. Fragments of the old vestments are still covering it, with later habiliments over them. A niche in the wall with quaintly modeled baptismal vessels served as the baptistry. The walls are ornamented with designs in red and green and black—the work of the Indians. The bell tower is isolated from the main structure being situated in the cemetery at the side. It is constructed of brick stuccoed and sitting on a foundation of stone and adobe, the tower rising from which in a single wall which contains two open arches one above the other in which are hung two bells, the lower one having the following inscription: "CERVANTES. S * AN. D. 1816 * SAN LVIS REY * " The tower is surmounted with the remains of a cross at the base of which a cactus has taken root, adding to its picturesque appearance. Steps lead to the lower bell and both are rung by cords attached to the iron clapper.

The cemetery is still used for burial. During our visit an old Indian woman said to be over 100 years of age came to weep over the grave of her son. Service is occasionally held in the chapel on the Sabbath and on feast days. The entire Indian population of the neighborhood and more distant reservations gather at Pala at the various festivals of the Church and on the 4th of July of each succeed-

ing year where the old games are practiced for the edification of themselves and hosts of Americans who are attracted by the novelty of the spectacle. The old olive orchard is still flourishing but the trees were a few years since cut down to a stump that new heads might be formed. Clumps of tunas here and there still yield their fruit of which the natives are very fond. The San Luis Rey river furnishes an unfailing source of water supply but the old aqueducts that brought it to the Mission long since were abandoned. Quite a number of Indian families live in adobe huts in the immediate neighborhood, some of which we visited. We found the aged woman before mentioned at one of them engaged in making baskets. Her name was Victoria. She seems to be little more than a child, and was so wild that we had great difficulty in taking her photograph.

PAUMA

About 5 miles above Pala in a lovely valley through which flows a fine stream that has its rise in the Paloma mountain.

CALIFORNIA BIBLIOGRAPHIES

PREFATORY NOTE

The following list is an attempt at a record of the principal bibliographies and sources of bibliographical information dealing with California.

The word bibliography has been interpreted in its broadest sense, permitting the inclusion of guides to manuscripts and maps.

The first section, containing bibliographies in their more limited meaning, is arranged in two groups:

- a. **Formal bibliographies of California.** In this group will be found:
General bibliographies.
Bibliographies of special subjects.
Lists of California authors and their works.
California imprints (including state documents, publications of societies and institutions, lists and indexes of newspapers and periodicals).
- b. **Other works containing bibliographical material pertaining to California.** Here are included bibliographies of general or special subjects, relating in part to California, and historical works, monographs, etc., which should be consulted for the bibliographical lists to be found in them.

The purpose has been to include in the list only material of importance, but opinions will differ as to the importance of individual items, and it is possible that some titles have been overlooked which should appear in it.

Some of the more obvious guides to printed material on California have been omitted, e. g., the American catalogue of books, 1876-1910; the United States catalog, 1912-1921, and its continuation, the Cumulative book index; Poole's index to periodical literature, 1802-1906; the Readers' guide to periodical literature, 1900 to date; and similar publications.

Another class of material excluded is that of auction and book-sellers' catalogues. While these are interesting and important to students of California history and bibliography, as well as to collectors of Californiana, it was felt that to include them would swell the list unduly.

The name "California" as used in this list should be understood to include not only the present state of California, but ancient California, now the Mexican territory of Baja California.

I. GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHIES.

a. Formal Bibliographies, Lists, Indexes, Etc.

BEPLER, DORIS WEST.

Descriptive catalogue of western historical materials in California periodicals, 1854-1890. 1920.

299 pp.

Ms. thesis (M. A.)—University of California.

Includes 1029 items arranged by authors, with a full subject index.

1

BOALICH, EDWIN SNOW.

Catalogue of the publications of the California state mining bureau, 1880-1917. Sacramento: California state printing office, 1918.

8vo. 44 pp. (California state mining bureau. Bulletin No. 77.)

2

BOTELLO Y SERRANO, ALONSO, AND PORTER Y CASANATE, PEDRO.

Memoria de los autores que hablan de las Californias y de su ensenada, y dan noticias de muchos descubrimientos, todos los cuales están en poder de los contenidos en el memorial antecedente [1636].

(*In*: Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España. Madrid, 1849. t. 15, pp. 225-227.)

This Memoria, which is inserted here only for its historical interest, is appended to a document with title: Declaracion que hicieron en 17 de setiembre de 1636 D. Alonso Botello y Serrano y D. Pedro Porter y Casanate de las conveniencias del servicio de S. M. y públicas que se seguiran por descubrir como se comunica por la California el mar del sur con el del N. . . .

3

CALIFORNIA. AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION. *Berkeley.*

Publications of the Agricultural experiment station, University of California, from 1877 to 1918.

(*In its*: Report. 1918. pp. 102-118.)

4

CALIFORNIA. SAN FRANCISCO WOMEN'S LITERARY EXHIBIT.

A list of books by California writers. Columbian exposition, 1893 . . . San Francisco, 1893.

8vo. 52 pp.

5

Appended are: Publications of the University of California (pp. 44-48); and Some California law books (not including statutes, codes, legislative journals) (pp. 48-52).

CALIFORNIA. STATE LIBRARY.

. . . California newspapers in State library, 1911. Sacramento, 1911.

8vo. 6 pp.

6

California state publications. [Compiled by Miss Laura Steffens.]

(*In*: Bowker, Richard R. State publications; a provisional list of the official publications of the several states of the United States from their organization. New York, 1899-1909. vol. 3. pp. 525-562.)

7

Card index to California newspapers.

On file in the California state library. In progress.

8

Catalogue of state publications, 1850-1894.

(*In its*: Biennial report, 1892-1894. Sacramento, 1894. pp. 32-72.)

9

A list of books tracts, pamphlets, and other publications, together with maps, charts, and plans now in the State library, relating to California, and incidentally to the adjoining states and territories. From the earliest period of discovery to the present time.

(*In*: California State library. Bibliotheca Californiae. A descriptive catalogue of books in the State library of California. vol. II. General library. By Ambrose P. Dietz. Sacramento, 1871. pp. 687-789.)

10

CALIFORNIA. UNIVERSITY.

University of California publications, price list. April, 1923. Berkeley: University of California press, [1923].

8vo. 90 pp. (University of California bulletin. Third series. vol. xiv. no. 11.)

11

CHANDLER, KATHERINE.

... List of California periodicals issued previous to the completion of the transcontinental telegraph (August 15, 1846—October 24, 1861). San Francisco, 1905.

8vo. 20 pp. (Publications of the Library association of California, no. 7.) Includes newspapers.

12

CHAPMAN, CHARLES E.

The literature of California history.

(In: The Southwestern historical quarterly, April, 1919. Austin, Tex., 1919. 8vo. vol. 22, pp. 318-352.)

A classified list, with critical notes, of about 75 printed works deemed most important for the study of California history. The second part (pp. 348-352) mentions some of the principal collections of manuscripts and archives relating to the state, and the printed guides to such material.

Revised and issued as an appendix to the author's History of California: the Spanish period. New York: The Macmillan company, 1921. pp. 487-509.

13

COLE, GEORGE WATSON.

Missions and mission pictures; a contribution towards an iconography of the Franciscan missions of California.

(In: California library association. Handbook and proceedings of the annual meeting, 1910. Sacramento, 1910. pp. 44-66.)

Reprinted from News notes of California libraries, vol. 5, no. 3, July, 1910.

14

COOLEY, LAURA C.

Selected list of source material in the Los Angeles public library. California —from the discovery to the end of the Spanish period.

(In: Historical society of southern California. Annual publications, 1918. Los Angeles [1918]. vol. II, pp. 91-101.)

15

COWAN, ROBERT ERNEST.

Bibliographical notes on early California [1542-1852].

(In: American historical association. Annual report . . . 1904. Washington, 1905. pp. 267-278.)

Read at the meeting of the Pacific coast branch of the Association, November 26, 1904.

16

A bibliography of the history of California and the Pacific West, 1510-1906. San Francisco: The Book club of California, 1914.

4to. 318 pp.

"It has been deemed advisable to limit the present work in scope to about 1,000 titles and to close it with the year 1905 . . . In the present essay are included printed works relating to the discovery, exploration, colonization, and evangelization of California; its transition from a Mexican colony to one of the United States; the history of the gold discovery and its attendant events; the formation of its government, state and municipal; its unusual features, such as the Vigilance committees, Mexican land claims, and the Chinese question; some features of its earliest local literature; and its historical relations with adjacent territory, both remote and more nearly within our time."—Prefatory note.

The arrangement is alphabetic by authors, with two indexes, one chronological, the other by titles and subjects.

Limited edition of 250 copies.

17

- A bibliography of the Spanish press of California, 1833-1845. San Francisco: 1919.
8vo. 31 pp.
Consists of an historical account of the government press at Monterey and Sonoma, and an alphabetical list of imprints, numbering 56 broadsides, proclamations, etc., and 12 volumes. Includes a record of copies seen, and photographs of broadsides and title-pages. 18
- GRINNELL, JOSEPH.
... A bibliography of California ornithology ... Santa Clara, Cal.: Published by the Club, 1909.
8vo. 166 pp. (Cooper ornithological club of California. Pacific coast avifauna. no. 5.) 19
- HASSE, ADELAIDE R.
Index of economic material in documents of the states of the United States; California, 1849-1904 ... [Washington] 1908.
4to. 316 pp. [Carnegie institution of Washington. Publication no. 85. (California.)]
"This index undertakes to deal only with the printed reports of administrative officers, legislative committees, and special commissions of the states, and with governors' messages for the period since 1849. It does not refer to constitution, laws, legislative proceedings or court decisions, except in so far as they happen to be found in the class of documents above mentioned."—Prefatory note. 20
- HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA.
... General index to annual publications, vols. i-xi, 1884-1920. Prepared by Robert Cameron Gillingham. Los Angeles, 1921.
8vo. 86 pp. (Its Publications, vol. xii.) 21
- McCONNELL, WINONA.
California Indians. (Annotated list of material in the California State library.)
(In: California. State library. News notes of California libraries, July 1915. [Sacramento] 1915. vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 484-522.)
A classified list.
Also issued as a separate. 22
- MACDONALD, AUGUSTIN S.
... A list of books: Californiana and the Pacific in the library of Augustin S. Macdonald. Oakland, Cal.: 1903.
8vo. 76 pp.
This collection is now in the Henry E. Huntington library and art gallery, San Marino, California. 23
- PIERCE, MARY TURNER.
Partial reading list on California.
(In: The Land of sunshine, June-July, 1898. vol. 9. pp. 28; 76-79.)
Limited to current descriptive material; includes a list of novels dealing with California. 24
- TAYLOR, ALEXANDER S.
Bibliografía Californica, or Notes and materials to aid in forming a more perfect bibliography of those countries anciently called "Californica," and lying within the limits of the Gulf of Cortez to the Arctic Seas, and west of the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. [Sacramento, 1863-66.]
Fol. 113 numb. leaves.

Mimeographed copy.

"Bibliografía Californica—ho. 2:" leaves 89-113. Dated: Santa Barbara, January 1, 1866.

The first bibliography of California.

First published in the Sacramento Union of June 25, 1863, with additions in the issue of March 13, 1866.

Hubert H. Bancroft (History of California, vol. I, p. 35) has the following note concerning Taylor's bibliography:—

"This work contained over a thousand titles, but its field was the whole territory from Baja California to the Arctic Ocean, west of the Rocky Mountains, only about one half of the works relating to Alta California. Dr. Taylor's zeal in this direction was most commendable, and his success, considering his extremely limited facilities, was wonderful; yet his catalogue is useless. He never saw one in five of the works he names; blunders average more than one to each title; he names many books that never existed, others so inaccurately that they cannot be traced, and yet others several times over under different titles. His insufferable pedantry and affectation of bibliographical *patois* unite with the typographic errors of the newspaper press to destroy for the most part any merit that the list might otherwise have . . ."

25

UNDERHILL, LESLIE.

Historical and reminiscent articles in the first twenty volumes of the Grizzly bear magazine.

(In: Grizzly bear, April, 1917. Los Angeles, 1917. vol. 20. pp. 22-24.)

26

VENABLE, REID.

Selected list of references relating to irrigation in California. Berkeley, 1923. 8vo. 62 pp. (California. Agricultural experiment station, Berkeley. Circular, no. 260.)

27

VODGES, ANTHONY W.

. . . A bibliography relating to the geology, paleontology, and mineral resources of California . . . 2d ed. Sacramento: W. W. Shannon, supt. state printing, 1904.

8vo. 290 pp. illus. (California. State mining bureau. Bulletin, no. 30.)

First edition, 1896 (121 pp.) appeared as Bulletin no. 10 of the Bureau.

28

WAGNER, HENRY RAUP.

[Bibliography of printed works relating to those portions of the United States which formerly belonged to Mexico. Santiago, Chile, 1917.]

8vo. 43 pp.

140 items, in chronological arrangement from 1542 to 1821. A preliminary list, indicating copies located.

[Addenda. Berkeley, 192-?.]

8vo. 8 pp.

29

California imprints, August, 1846—June, 1851. Berkeley, Cal., 1922.

8vo. 97 pp.

An edition of 150 copies, including 25 specially bound with 20 photostat reproductions of broadsides and title-pages.

Describes 231 items, and records copies seen. The main list, arranged chronologically, has appended the following: Publications bearing date 1851, but printed after June 30; California imprints of 1850-51, but printed elsewhere; Publications without date or place; Documents of the first and second sessions of the Legislature; Pamphlet edition of the laws of 1850. Indexes.

30

The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794; an annotated bibliography. Berkeley, 1924. Fol. 302 pp. illus. (facsim.)

100 copies printed, of which 20 are for private distribution.

Relates principally to those portions of the United States which formerly formed part of the province of New Spain, together with the adjacent regions of northern Mexico.

The arrangement is chronological. Includes full titles, with very elaborate notes and a census of original editions. There are numerous facsimiles of title-pages.

Of the 80 copies, 20, numbered and signed, were specially bound and extra-illustrated with 15 photostat reproductions of manuscript documents and maps in the Archives of the Indies in Seville.

31

WALSWORTH, BERTHA L.

The Colorado River and its tributaries; a bibliography of books, magazine articles and government documents in the Riverside public library. [Riverside], Calif.: Riverside public library, 1922.

Large 8vo. 137 leaves.

Mimeographed.

32

b. Works other than formal bibliographies of California, containing bibliographical material pertaining to the State.

ANDERSON, ALEXANDER D.

The silver country of the great Southwest. New York : G. P. Putnam's sons, 1877.

8vo. 221 pp.

"The authorities on California:" pp. 149-157.

33

APPONYI, FLORA HAINES.

The libraries of California. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and company, 1878.

8vo. 304 pp.

Contains many references to works relating to California.

35

BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE.

California pastoral, 1769-1848. San Francisco: The History company, 1888.

8vo. 808 pp. (His Works, vol. xxxiv.)

"Bibliography of pastoral California": pp. 751-792.

34

Essays and miscellany. San Francisco: The History company, 1890.

8vo vi, 764 pp. (His Works, vol. xxxviii.)

"Early California literature": pp. 591-668. A review of the literature produced by California writers.

36

History of California, 1542-1890. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and company, 1884-90.

8vo. 7 vols. (His Works, vols. xviii-xxiv.)

"Authorities quoted": vol. I: pp. xxv-lxxxviii.

"There are more than one thousand titles of works actually consulted in these volumes, and many of them named in foot-notes which do not appear in this list. The catalogue is, however, complete down to the discovery of gold in 1848, and practically so down to 1856. The omissions of later date are general works of reference, cyclopedias, etc.; speeches, addresses, orations, not directly historical in their nature; publications emanating from or relating to various California institutions, associations, companies, orders, churches, banks, courts, schools, etc.; legal briefs, county and municipal

regulations, law textbooks, briefs, and miscellaneous public documents; works of fiction and science; newspapers, and other similar classes."—Prefatory note.

An alphabetical list by authors and titles; including references to both printed books and manuscripts.

"Bibliography of California history": vol. I; pp. 24-63.

This is a classification and summary of the material in the alphabetical list at the beginning of the volume. The material is divided into two periods, before and after 1848. Mr. Bancroft states that his list includes 1650 titles for the earlier period, of which 1030 are manuscripts; and 2000 for the later period, of which less than 200 are manuscripts.

37

History of the North Mexican states and Texas. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & company, 1884-89.

8vo. 2 vols. (His Works, vols. xv-xvi.)

Covers the modern Texas, Coahuila, Durango, Chihuahua, New Mexico, Sinaloa, Sonora, Arizona, and the two Californias, but the history of Arizona, New Mexico and Upper California is given only in brief, because fully treated in separate works.

List of authorities quoted: vol. I: xix-xlvi.

Throughout the main work occur numerous bibliographical footnotes.

38

The native races [of the Pacific states]. San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & company, 1883.

8vo. 5 vols. (His Works, vols. i-v.)

"Authorities quoted": vol. I, pp. [xvii]-xlix.

"Californiana" [with bibliographical foot-notes]: vol. I, pp. 322-470.

"Californian languages" [with bibliographical foot-notes]: vol. 3, pp. 635-659.

39

BARTLETT, WILLIAM C.

Literature and art in California; a quarter-centennial review [1850-1875].

• (In: Overland monthly. Dec. 1875, vol. 15, pp. 533-546.)

Includes a list of about 150 books written in California, excluding law reports, digests and school books. (pp. 542-544.)

40

BRADFORD, THOMAS LINDSLEY.

The bibliographer's manual of American history, containing an account of all state, territory, town and county histories relating to the United States . . . together with the prices at which they have been sold for the last forty years. Ed. and rev. by Stan. V. Henkels . . . Philadelphia: Stan. V. Henkels & co., 1907-10.

Large 8vo. 5 vols.

"California": vol 5; general index: pp. 211-218. Includes about 240 references to titles in the main body of the work.

41

BUREAU OF RAILWAY ECONOMICS, Washington, D. C.

. . . List of references to literature relating to the Union Pacific system. [Washington] 1922.

8vo. 299 numb. leaves.

Autographed from typewritten copy.

42

Railway economics; a collective catalogue of books in fourteen American libraries. Chicago: Published for the Bureau of railway economics by the University of Chicago [1912].

8vo. 466 pp.

California: pp. 154-155; Pacific railways: pp. 280-300.

Other references under names of local California railways.

43

CALIFORNIA. STATE LIBRARY.

News notes of California libraries. May, 1908-date. Vol. 1-date. Quarterly.

In each number appear:

Recent accessions to the State library (including Californiana).

California state and city publications received.

California department of the State library, including lists of California authors, artists, etc.

44

CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON.

Handbook of learned societies and institutions: America. Washington, D. C., 1908.

592 pp. (Its Publication no. 39.)

California: pp. 132-140.

Additional titles under names of places, as San Diego, San Francisco, etc.

45

CORT, J. ELIOT.

Citrus fruits; an account of the citrus fruit industry, with special reference to California requirements and practices and similar conditions . . . New York: The Macmillan company, 1917.

8vo. 520 pp. (The rural science series.)

Bibliography: pp. 461-503. A classified list relating to citrus fruits in general, but with numerous references to the California literature on the subject.

46

COWAN, ROBERT ERNEST, and DUNLAP, BOUTWELL.

Bibliography of the Chinese question in the United States. San Francisco: A. M. Robertson, 1909.

Large 8vo. 68 pp.

A large proportion of the titles relate to California.

47

CROCKER, CHARLES TEMPLETON.

Catalogue of the library of Charles Templeton Crocker. Hillsborough, Cal.: 1918.

8vo. 314 pp., 1 leaf.

Californiana: pp. 21-98.

48

DELLENBAUGH, FREDERICK SAMUEL.

Books by American travellers and explorers from 1846 to 1900. Being chapter XIV of the third volume of the Cambridge history of American literature. With a bibliography. New York: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1920.

8vo. 1 p. l., 131-170, [681]-728 pp.

The bibliography (pp. [681]-728) is arranged alphabetically by authors. Although listing narratives of travel in all parts of the world, the compiler paid special attention to journals of early western travel, including narratives of California pioneers.

49

Frémont and '49. The story of a remarkable career and its relation to the exploration and development of our western territory, especially of California. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's sons, 1914.

8vo. 547 pp.

"Literature on the subjects mentioned in this volume": pp. 483-502.

50

EAKLE, ARTHUR S.

. . . Minerals of California. Sacramento: California state printing office, 1923. 8vo. 328 pp. (Bulletin no. 91. Issued by California State mining bureau.)

"Bibliography of California minerals." pp. 306-321.

First edition issued in 1914 as Bulletin no. 67.

51

ELDRIDGE, ZOETH SKINNER.

The beginnings of San Francisco from the expedition of Anza, 1774, to the city charter of April 15, 1850 . . . San Francisco: Z. S. Eldredge, 1912.

8vo. 2 vols.

"List of authorities": vol. 2, pp. 767-783.

52

GRIFFIN, APPLETON PRENTISS CLARK.

Bibliography of American historical societies . . . 2d ed., rev. and enl. [Washington: Government printing office, 1907.]

8vo. 1374 pp. (American historical association. Annual report. 1905. vol. 2.)

California: pp. 147-159.

53

GRINNELL, JOSEPH, BRYANT, HAROLD CHILD, and STORER, TRACY IRWIN.

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WILLARD O. WATERS.

CALIFORNIA'S BIGGEST NUGGET

In the summer of 1868 I spent my school vacation at the Sierra Buttes Mine in Sierra County, California, and therefore have first-hand knowledge of an event that is important in the annals of mining in California and throughout the world.

In 1859 a party of San Francisco capitalists visited the mine. They rode on muleback up the trail from Sierra City, and at a certain point the animals began to act badly and kicked up considerable loose earth. On the return trip one of the party examined the spot on the trail that had been scratched up by the hoofs of the animals, and was surprised to find a small rough nugget that weighed about a dollar.

Daily the party went from Sierra City to the spot where the nugget was found, but as they were city people and did not understand the science of prospecting for pocket mines, they abandoned their search after two weeks of unsuccessful effort. As they were leaving the district they told Jim Winsted, an old prospector, of the find and showed him the nugget.

After their return to San Francisco Jim went to the place and began his patient scientific search. At the end of a month he was rewarded by finding the small spot on the hill from which the nugget had come. He interested four other men with him in the enterprise, including my brother William and Jake Wood, who was afterward killed in the big snowslide that swept away the 40-stamp mill of the Independence Mine. They brought water to the spot through a ditch from a near-by ravine, and installed sluice-boxes. At the end of three or four weeks they had recovered about \$10,000 in gold. The pocket then seemed to give out and the claim was abandoned. From that time until 1868 no work was done on it and it was open to location by anyone.

In the summer of 1868 Jim Winsted visited the old mine and made his way to the bottom of the old shaft. With a crowbar that he was carrying he churned a hole big enough to enable him to reach an arm's length deeper into the ground. He placed in his handkerchief some of the dirt from the bottom of the hole and took it to his home a short distance down the hill. There he panned it and found it was "pay dirt."

The claim was re-located as the Monumental Mine, with the original owners holding their original interests. Two trusted men were employed, Mexican Frank and Joe Tierney. During the first three weeks of their operations they extracted in the little sluice-boxes some \$3,000.

It was one of my pleasures to spend the afternoons in hunting the

mountain quail over the hillside. One afternoon, soon after the lunch hour, I wandered to the collar of the shallow shaft and looked down it. There I saw Frank and Tierney digging in a most excited way. I called, asking them what was the matter. Tierney stood erect while Frank remained in a stooping position. In each hand Tierney held a lump of gold. He exclaimed, "My God! the whole bottom of the shaft is in solid gold. Look at that."

With a boyish eye to specimens, I said, "Don't break it up. Get it out whole." He replied that it was much too large. I told him I would get my brother William, and not to break it till he came. I ran up the hill as fast as my legs could carry me and met my brother coming to the mine. Together we returned as quickly as possible. He descended the shaft and gave orders to take the nugget out whole. Carefully Frank and Tierney dug around it, and finally brought out a lump of gold from which several pieces from the size of a single to a double fist had already been broken off. But the remaining nugget, as it was taken out, weighed 104 pounds. It was carried to the office of the Sierra Buttes Mine, where it was boiled in strong nitric acid during the afternoon. This detached the dirt and loose gold and it then weighed 97 pounds.

I remember well how the nugget was placed in a gunny-sack and how that evening and the next day miners came from all over the surrounding country, even as far as twenty-five miles away, to "heft" it, and how astonished they were when the first slight tug they gave failed to raise it from the floor and more effort had to be applied.

The nugget was shipped to San Francisco to my father's firm, A. T. Farish & Co., who sold it to R. B. Wood, owner of Woodward's Gardens, for \$25,000. It was exhibited in the Gardens, and besides the general admission fee an extra charge of 25c was made for a look at the nugget. He cleared several thousand dollars by exhibiting it. The nugget when finally coined yielded somewhat over \$23,000 in \$20 gold pieces.

The work on the Monumental Mine was prosecuted as rapidly as possible, and by 12 o'clock that night the end of the pocket was reached. The total production during the year 1868 was \$53,000, of which about \$50,000 was taken out in less than 12 hours. My brother sold his interest the night after the nugget was found. The other owners continued to work the property but sank all they had made in an unsuccessful search for another pocket, and the Monumental Mine became a memory.

Subsequently, newspapers in various parts of the State reported the finding of other big nuggets. I carefully investigated such statements but could never trace them to any authentic or reliable source,

and I am satisfied that the Monumental nugget was the largest ever found in California up to that time. My inquiry disclosed the fact that the second largest nugget found in the United States was discovered in the State of Virginia and that it weighed 28 pounds. There are authentic records of two nuggets having been found in Australia, each of which weighed over 200 pounds. One of them was known as "the Sarah Sands" and the other was "the Welcome" nugget. But I am convinced that the Monumental nugget was the largest ever found in the United States and the third largest of which there is any record in the world.

JOHN B. FARISH.

QUIVIRA, A MYTHICAL CALIFORNIA CITY

The maps of the northwest coast of America in the sixteenth century present us with a strange picture of mingled fact and fancy. Before 1540, as the coast was entirely unknown, the delineations were fancy, pure and simple. The discoveries of Cortes and Ulloa were fairly well plotted, but although Rodriguez Cabrillo must have made a map, and Coronado certainly did, as he himself tells us in his letter to Mendoza of August 3, 1540, no later cartographer appears to have made use of their work—probably because it was not available. We unfortunately lack any authentic Spanish map made during the rest of the century, except the limited one of Gutierrez, so the cartographers had to fall back on what they could gather from the written and published narratives.

Although Lopez de Gomara does not give us an account of the Cabrillo expedition of 1542-43, he does give a slight sketch of the coast with most of the names which Cabrillo had given, and he also gives a short account of the Coronado expedition of 1540-42. Apparently no trace of either of these expeditions appeared on the maps until about 1556, beyond the placing of the name "The Seven Cities" on several of the earlier maps. When we do begin to get some maps showing the results of these expeditions we find, curiously enough, that Quivira is placed in the northwest part of America near the coast; and what is natural therefore, the various places named by Gomara are arranged in a line running from the southeast to the northwest, and beginning with Civola, continue in the following order: Cuco or Chucho (i. e. Acuco), Tignes, Axa, Cichuich or Chicuich (Cicuye), and Quivira. These names are all of the names which occur in Gomara's account, and are a very sure indication that the maps were made from his narrative. In this part of his narrative Gomara does not give any indication of directions. He does not say that the party went east or northeast, although he must have known that actually such was the general direction.

Gomara says: [Trans.] "Quivira is in 40°, a temperate country, well watered, with many herbs, plums, mulberries, nuts, melons and grapes which mature well. There is no cotton. They wear buffalo and deer skins. They saw on the coast ships which had on their prows *alcatazras* of gold and silver, with merchandise; and they thought they must be from Catayo or China, as they made signs that they had sailed thirty days."

As the nearest seacoast was in the northwest, no doubt the map

makers in reading the account considered that Quivira was in the northwest and that therefore the general direction of the towns mentioned by Gomara was towards that point, especially as China was named.

While I think that this accounts for the curious error of the cartographers, the story of the ships had appeared in print before 1552 when Gomara's book was published. In 1550 Ramusio published the first volume of his *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, and on folio 374 he prints a story which he says that he heard while on a visit to his friend Fracastro, from the lips of a gentleman of Mantua. This gentleman told a long tale about Russia and the way to the spice countries of the East, and wound up by stating that he had seen a letter from the viceroy Mendoza, written in 1541. I quote as follows from Richard Eden's translation which he appended to his translation of the Decades of the New World, published in London in 1555. Speaking of the effort to discover the lands and countries of Cathay, he says:

"The whiche thyng, that ryght woorthy gentleman master Antony di Mendoza considerynge by the singular vertue and magnanimitie that is in hym, attempted to put this thyng in practise. For beynge viceroy of the countrey of Mexico (so named of the great citie Mexico otherwise cauled Temistitan, nowe cauled newe Spayne, being in the .xx. [twentieth] degree aboue the Equinoctiall, and parte of the sayde firme lande), he sent certeyne of his capitaynes by lande, and also a nauie of shippes by sea, to search this secrete. And I remember that when I was in Flaunders in Th[e] emperours courte, I sawe his letter wrytten in the yere. 1541. and dated from Mexico: wherein was declared howe toward the northwest, he had fownd the kyngedome of *Sette Citta* (that is) Seuen Cities, whereas is that cauled Ciuola by the reuerend father Marco da Niza: and howe beyonde the sayde kyngedome yet further toward the Northwest, Capitayne Francesco Vasques of Coronado, hauynge ouerpassed great desertes, came to the sea syde where he found certeyne shippes which sayled by that sea with marchaundies, and had in theyr baner vppon the proos of theyr shippes, certeyne foules made of golde and syluer which they of Mexico caule Alcatrazzi: And that theyr mariners shewed by signes that they were. xxx. [thirty] dayes saylynge in commynge to that hauen: wherby he vnderstode that these shippes could bee of none other countrey then of Cathay, forasmuch as it is situate on the contrary parte of the sayde lande discovered. The sayde master Antonie wrote furthermore, that by the opinion of men well practised, there was discovered so greate a space of that countrey vnto the sayd sea, that it passed. 950. leaques, which make. 2850. myles. And doubtlesse yf the Frenche men in this theyr newe Fraunce, wolde haue passed by lande toward the sayd northwest and by north, they shuld also haue founde the sea wherby they myght haue sayled to Cathay. But aboue all thynges, this seemed vnto me most woorthy of commendation, that the sayde master Antonie wrote in his letter that he had made a book of al the natural and marueylous thynges whiche they founde in searchynge those countreys, with also

the measures of landes and altytudes of degrees: A worke doubtlesse which sheweth a princely and magnificall mynde, wherby wee may conceaue that yf god had gyuen hym the charge of the other hemispherie, he wolde or nowe haue made it better knowen to vs. The which thyng, I suppose no man doth greatly esteeme at this time: being neuerthelesse the greatest and most glorious enterprise that may bee imagined."

From this passage I think Gomara took his notice of the ships.

Of course we know that the viceroy probably never wrote any such story, but that he did write something on the subject which the Mantua gentleman misunderstood is apparent from contemporary evidence. The letter to which he refers was undoubtedly the letter written by Mendoza about the 1st of August, 1541. On July 28, 1541, one Peralmides wrote a letter from Mexico to Juan de Sámano, the secretary of the Council of the Indies, in which he said that eighteen days before, letters had come from Coronado to Mendoza, who would not reveal the contents to anyone, but only would he do so in a letter to the King and to the Council. All that he said was that the party were well and had found a well-populated country. He intimated, however, that after the *flota* had left for Spain, Mendoza might tell something. The letter from Coronado to which Peralmides referred was undoubtedly the letter of April 20, 1541, which is lost. In his letter of October 20, written after his return from the plains, Coronado refers to his letter of April 20, and says that he had written in it all the wonderful things which he had heard from the Turk.

The Turk, so-called, was an Indian slave whom Hernando de Alvarado brought back from Cicuye about the end of March, 1541, on his return from the expedition to see the buffalo. He said he was a native of the country towards Florida, and told Alvarado that there were some large settlements in the farther part of that country. The only one of the various accounts of the expedition which contains any extended notice of what the Turk had to say is that of Castañeda. I transcribe from Chapter 13 of Winship's translation of The Coronado Expedition, published in Washington in 1896:

"The Turk said that in his country there was a river in the level country which was 2 leagues wide, in which there were fishes as big as horses and large numbers of very big canoes with more than 20 rowers on a side, and that they carried sails, and that their lords sat on the poop under awnings, and on the prow they had a great golden eagle. He said also that the lord of the country took his afternoon nap under a great tree on which were hung a great number of little gold bells which put him to sleep as they swung in the air. He said also that every one had their ordinary dishes made of wrought plate, and the jugs and bowls were of gold."

Castañeda's account, which was not written until after 1560, was probably not known in Spain until much later, whereas the account written by Juan Jaramillo probably reached there long before. His account has nothing of these wonderful tales, but he gives plainly the actual location of Quivira in the northeast. Nevertheless, as I have stated previously, the maps which were afterwards constructed seem to have been based entirely on the very limited and very indifferent account given by Gomara.

Probably the earliest map to show the results of this expedition, as well as the expedition of Rodriguez Cabrillo, aside from the crude sketch by Gastaldo published in 1556 in the third volume of Ramusio, is a manuscript one in the Ayer collection in the Newberry Library in Chicago, which was made by Baptista Agnese about 1560; not being dated, it is a little uncertain as to just when he made it, but it was almost certainly not before 1560 and not later than 1564. Gomara said that Quivira was in 40° , and on this map it is so found at a distance of perhaps three hundred miles from the coast. Above this at about 45° is a legend which, translated from the Italian, reads: "Up to this point Francisco Vasquez de Coronado discovered;" and in the ocean just off the coast at about 40° is another: "Ship of Catayo, or China."

In the British Museum there is a printed map engraved by a man named Cock in Amsterdam in 1562, which purports to have been drawn by one Gutierrez, probably Diego Gutierrez, the younger. This map is somewhat celebrated owing to the fact that it contains the word *California*, the earliest known application of the word in the cartography of the Pacific Coast. The map does not show the peninsula of California, but only a projecting point at the lower end of which is applied the name "*C. California*", that is, Cape California. Without going through a somewhat technical line of reasoning, I may state that in my opinion, Gutierrez also produced another map, which showed the Pacific and the islands of the Indies, China, etc., and which map also probably included the peninsula of California. No copy of this exists, but as there is only one copy of the other one known, the disappearance of this need not cause any wonder. It seems probable to me that from these two maps of Gutierrez, Abraham Ortelius constructed his famous heart-shaped map of the world in 1564, which has only recently been discovered. At least I consider that his California Gulf was taken from this original, as it displays some peculiarities in nomenclature not to be found on any previous map except that of Gutierrez. It is even possible that the Agnese map just referred to may have been taken from these Gutierrez maps, although there are some differences not easily

explained. At any rate, on this map of Ortelius, Quivira appears near the coast beyond the Sierra Nevadas.

In 1569, Gerard Mercator produced his famous world map, and on this he moved Quivira to the coast, where it appears as a town in 40° of latitude, thus agreeing with the intimation in Gomara, or the statement in Ramusio. It was on this map that for the first time in print appeared the remarkable extension of the northwest coast to the west. In fact the coast, which reaches as high as 41° or $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ where the Sierra Nevadas are placed, then turns slightly to the south of west for nearly ten degrees of longitude, and then at 40° appears Quivira, beyond which the coast turns in a curve a little north of west until in a short distance it attains a northerly direction.

Perhaps when Drake was coasting along the northwest coast of America and is supposed to have been seeking the northwest passage, he had an eye open for Quivira. We can be fairly certain that among the maps he carried was the famous Ortelius atlas, which was first published in 1570, and in which appears maps both of the world and of America which were reduced from the Mercator map of 1569 and are not modeled on Ortelius' own map of 1564. On these maps of 1570, Quivira appears as a town just as in Mercator's, and at about 40° ; and even Cicuic and Tigux appear on the same coast farther south. Not only did Drake have these maps, but very likely also the pamphlet which Sir Humphrey Gilbert had published in 1576, entitled "A discourse of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia." After citing the ancient historians to prove that America is an island, Gilbert proceeds to discuss the accounts of more modern travelers beginning with Marco Polo, who, he says, sailed fifteen hundred miles toward the northeast on the coast of Mangia and Anian. He then quotes the passage I have given from Gomara, although he adds a little, saying that Coronado passed from Civola, through the country of Quivira to Sierra Nevada, which Gomara did not say. In Chapter 7 he tells the apocryphal tale about Andres Urdaneta's returning from the Philippines through the northwest passage to Germany, and by means of these arguments he arrives at the conclusion that America is an island and that a passage exists, by water, from the Atlantic to the Pacific north thereof. In Chapter 10, in speaking of the projected trading to the East, he says, "Moreover we might from all these aforesaid places have a yeerely returne, inhabiting for our staple some convenient place of America, about Sierra Nevada, or some other part whereas it shal seeme best for the shortning of the voyage."

To illustrate his pamphlet Gilbert produced a map showing his supposed strait, or better said, open sea, at the north of America, with

a strait at the east between Greenland and Labrador, and another between Asia and America. This last strait is not named, as apparently he had not seen the map of Zaltieri, published in 1566, which calls the strait the Strait of Anian, but he took as his model probably the Ortelius map of 1564. I think this likely from the peculiar heart-shape of Gilbert's map, corresponding in many respects with that of Ortelius. Nevertheless, the Ortelius map does not show a narrow strait but a very wide one, whereas Gilbert's strait between Asia and America is very narrow. Whether he followed the Ortelius map of 1564 or that of 1570, he was not honest in copying it, for he places the Sierra Nevada in the narrowest part of his strait, and Quivira to the east thereof on the south coast of the northern sea.

The appearance of the Ortelius atlas in 1570 and its popularity as evidenced by the numerous editions published before the end of the century, fixed the type of cartography of the northwest coast for fifty years to come. In fact, even after the cartographers began to produce maps showing California as an island in the second quarter of the seventeenth century the nomenclature remained the same. Quivira remained upon the maps for a long time; even as late as the middle of the eighteenth century there was still a belief current that such a place actually existed somewhere in the northwestern part of America, in spite of the fact that later and more authentic maps had been produced showing the place which Coronado called Quivira somewhere near its actual location northeast of New Mexico.

H. R. WAGNER.

CALIFORNIA'S FIRST TABLOID NEWSPAPERS

Nearly three-quarters of a century in advance of the recent San Francisco and Los Angeles Vanderbilt tabloid newspapers, so much exploited, were California's first two publications of this kind. These are other illustrations of how progressive the gold state's pioneers were in journalism and letters.

Unknown to collectors, one of these periodicals has come of late into the collection of Henry R. Wagner, master bibliographer of early California to whom this commonwealth is so much indebted for his researches and the other into the collection of the writer of this bibliographical note.

The one is the *Sacramento* (vignette of a steamer and sailing vessel) *News-Letter*. Vol. I, No. 4. For the fortnight ending August 30, 1851. Published semi-monthly by Wm. Godwin & Co., Union Building, [Sacramento]. 2 pp.

The other is the *San Francisco* (vignette of eagle, holding in its beak a ribbon, with the motto "E Pluribus Unum") *News-Letter*. Vol. I, No. 1. San Francisco, Monday, July 14, 1851. Published on the day preceding the departure of each mail steamer by M. C. Cotham & Co., proprietors. J. C. Duncan, editor. Sunday Dispatch, printers, [San Francisco]. 2 pp.

The *Sacramento News-Letter* is in size, $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the *San Francisco News-Letter*, slightly larger, $11 \times 8\frac{3}{4}$ inches.

Search of files reveals from the *Daily Alta California*, July 15, 1851:

"This is an era of newspapers, and California a country favorable to the development of newspaper literature. We have received copies of two letter-sheet newspapers, or letters as they are called. The first number of the San Francisco News Letter, by J. C. Duncan, appeared yesterday. It contains a two-page digest of the news since the first of the month, very neatly printed. The Sacramento News-Letter is got up on the same plan by A. C. Morse, Esq. These conveniences to letter writers will have quite an extensive demand. They are published semi-monthly."

This citation also furnished the name of the original editor of the Sacramento publication, A. C. Morse. A "Salutatory" of this preserved fourth issue by Wm. Godwin & Co., says: "Since the issue of the last number of the News Letter, Mr. Morse has abandoned its publication, believing he could not make it *pay*. Not being of this opinion, but having confidence that a well-conducted sheet of this description is much wanted . . . we have commenced the publication of the Sacramento News Letter."

Sacramento directories of the '50s give no clues of who A. C. Morse or William Godwin were. The San Francisco directory of 1854 has an A. C. Morse, attorney, and A. C. Morse, clerk. Similarly, San Francisco directories afford mention only in the issue of 1854 of M. C. Cotham, bookkeeper.

One J. C. Duncan's name appears in San Francisco directories of the 50's as of various occupations in the issue of 1856, as connected with the *Globe*. Perhaps he is J. C. Duncan, who was one of the two editors of the *California Home Journal*. I find no recorded copies of this. My collection contains a specimen copy for June 19, 1859.

Both tabloid newspapers are printed on blue paper, similar to letter-paper, with its illustrations of California mining camps and towns, prepared for miners of this period to "write home."

In object similar to the letter heads—which were used to convey pictures of the physical surroundings of miners—these two miniature newspapers were prepared to send news in brief form before sailing of steamer day to "back home in the states." They could be easily slipped into an envelope, and relieve the rushed miner during the hectic period.

Both newspapers were well edited. It is remarkable how much news was compressed into two small pages of 5-point type and what sense of news values their editors had. Adverse criticism that epitomized periodicals are so brief they are cliché, have "no news," are "wooden," do not "play up," do not "smoke up"—to use phrases of metropolitan local rooms—is not applicable to these two sheets. Their editors have taken time to "write it short."

The "lead story" in the *Sacramento News-Letter* is on the organization of the vigilance committee of 1851. The next "story" is the execution of Robinson, Thompson and Gibson at Sacramento, followed by confessions of each. Then, under "San Francisco Intelligence," there are heads, "Whittaker and McKenzie Kidnapped by the Authorities," "Whittaker and McKenzie Re-Captured and hung by the Vigilance Committee." Then follow three mining "stories" from the interior, and over a column and a half of commercial news and wholesale prices current.

The *San Francisco News-Letter* carries digests for each day between July 1, 1851, and July 14, 1851, inclusive, of what appeared in the *Courier*, *Herald*, *Alta*, *Pacific Star* and *Evening Picayune*. Included is the "Execution of Stuart." Then follow "Mining Intelligence," "Commercial Review," and marriage and death notices, and no births. There are 2½ inches, column width, of business cards, this publication's only advertisements.

DOCUMENTARY

THE FRÉMONT EPISODE

In August 1844, Frémont returned from his second expedition, well imbued with the desire to see California under American rule and to make his own home in that new land. The following March his official report was completed and published, just at the time when our relations with Mexico were approaching a crisis.

President Polk, elected by the southern Democrats on an expansionist platform, entered office with the determination to acquire California if that step could be brought about by any honorable means. The administration was not idle. Boundary disputes arising over the "re-annexation" of Texas caused General Taylor to be despatched with armed forces to the Texas border in July, 1845. While preparations were being made for his departure, Frémont was sent westward again on his third trip.

Frémont had been brevetted Lieutenant and Captain of Topographical Engineers, but his force included no enlisted men. His instructions were to traverse the Rockies at the headwaters of the Arkansas River, re-examine the region of the Great Salt Lake and map out expeditious routes from the Missouri frontier to the California coast.

His party at St. Louis was made up of young American adventurers, but on the frontier it gained a nucleus of seasoned French-Canadian engagés and mountain men, several of whom had been with Frémont before. In addition there were twelve Delaware Indians employed as hunters, a Chinook servant, and the Lieutenants Abert, Peck, Talbot and Kern of the Army.

Frémont left St. Louis aboard the steamer *Henry Bry* on the 6th of June, 1845. With about twenty of his party he proceeded to Boone's Fork, six miles from Westport, where the recruits were drilled in the handling of the pack-mules, equipment and stock. The calvacade marched out from Boone's Fork on July 23, about eighty strong. A few of the men rebelled at the strict discipline and left before the start was fairly made. Others soon joined to take their places. At Bent's Fort on the 16th of August, Lieutenant Abert and thirty-three men with Fitzpatrick for guide were detailed to explore Northern New Mexico and the unsettled parts of Texas. They did not return to the main party. This left Frémont with sixty men including Kit Carson, Dick Owens, Alexis Godey, Joe Walker and others who had joined him at the fort.

Frémont's own route led him up the Arkansas, the Grand River, Utah Lake, Great Salt Lake, across the desert of the Great Salt Lake

on the dry route which became known as "Hastings Cut-off," and directly across Nevada to Walker Lake. Lieutenant Talbot's party took a route down what was then known as Mary's River, since christened the Humboldt by Frémont.

As the season was advanced, Frémont, with a few men, went directly over the Sierras to Sutter's Fort, on the emigrant track already established over the Truckee divide by the Stephens-Murphy immigrant party. The summit was crossed December 5. Talbot with the main outfit went south to Walker Pass, where he encamped awaiting Frémont who by mistake was looking for him on the headwaters of the King's River.

Unsuccessful in finding Talbot, Frémont returned, worn out, to Sutter's, obtained a passport and proceeded to Yerba Buena, New Almaden and to Monterey to obtain permission to recruit his outfit at the California settlements. Tacit permission for this was obtained. Talbot rejoined near San Jose and the expedition moved slowly southward into the Salinas Valley, on their way back into the San Joaquin it is said.

Early in March while at the Hartnell Rancho, twenty-five miles from Monterey, Frémont received a peremptory order from José Castro to quit the country. The tone of the order and the manner of its delivery aroused the explorer's ire, and refusing to obey he fortified himself in the Gabilan Mountains and raised the American flag. A few days later he quietly and slowly retired up the Sacramento Valley to Lassen's, where he got fresh horses, proceeded at a very moderate pace to explore the northwestern parts of the Valley and then pushed on over the mountains to Lower Klamath Lake. Here Gillespie's messenger overtook him, and Frémont with ten picked men went back to meet the envoy. Gillespie brought a letter from Senator Benton and a verbal communication which caused Frémont to return to the settlements after encircling the Lake and punishing the Indians for a surprise attack they had made on his camp.

Arriving at the Marysville Buttes, Frémont called a meeting of the American settlers and gave them to understand that he would take no active part in revolt since he was not supposed to be on a military expedition. Nevertheless he aroused the alarmed settlers and permitted them to understand that they could count on his advice and backing. Through his influence the first blows in the Bear Flag affair were struck, Arce's horses were captured and Sonoma was taken, while Frémont moved his camp by easy stages to Sutter's Fort and placed his own Lieutenant Kern in charge there. He went to Sonoma on June 25, after obtaining supplies from Montgomery, under the pretext that he would take no part in the revolt.

Frémont has been severely treated by some historians and lauded by others. He has been accused of imprudence, of folly, of self-seeking, even of insubordinate disobedience. It has been claimed that he knew of Larkin's instructions to conciliate the Californians and acted rashly and hastily before Larkin could carry out that program.

The documents in the case are not sufficient to settle the questions that arise. Those that we print in this and following issues have nearly all been published before but have never been presented together and probably have not all been consulted by any one historian.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

[From Frémont's Memoirs, pp. 452-53. Letter to Mrs. Frémont.]

Yerba Buena, January 24, 1846.

I crossed the Rocky Mountains on the main Arkansas, passing out at its very head-waters; explored the southern shore of the Great Salt Lake, and visited one of its islands. You know that on every extant map, manuscript or printed, the whole of the Great Basin is represented as a sandy plain, barren, without water, and without grass. Tell your father that, with a volunteer party of fifteen men, I crossed it between the parallels of 38° and 39°. Instead of a plain, I found it, throughout its whole extent, traversed by parallel ranges of lofty mountains, their summits white with snow (October); while below, the valleys had none. Instead of a barren country, the mountains were covered with grasses of the best quality, wooded with several varieties of trees, and containing more deer and mountain sheep than we had seen in any previous part of our voyage. So utterly at variance with every description, from authentic sources, or from rumor or report, it is fair to consider this country as hitherto wholly unexplored, and never before visited by a white man. I met my party at the rendezvous, a lake southeast of the Pyramid Lake; and again separated, sending them along the eastern side of the Great Sierra, three or four hundred miles in a southerly direction, where they were to cross into the valley of the San Joaquin, near its head. During all the time that I was not with them, Mr. Joseph Walker was their guide, Mr. Talbot in charge, and Mr. Kern the topographer. The eleventh day after leaving them I reached Captain Sutter's, crossing the Sierra on the 4th of December, before the snow had fallen there. Now, the Sierra is absolutely impassable, and the place of our passage two years ago is luminous with snow. By the route I have explored I can ride in thirty-five days from the *Fontaine qui Bouit* River to Captain Sutter's; and, for wagons, the road is decidedly better.

I shall make a short journey up the eastern branch of the Sacramento, and go from the Tlamath Lake into the Wahlahmath valley, through a pass alluded to in my report; in this way making the road into Oregon far shorter, and a *good* road in place of the present very bad one down the Columbia. When I shall have made this short exploration, I shall have explored from beginning to end *this road to Oregon*.

I have just returned with my party of sixteen from an exploring journey in the *Sierra Nevada*, from the neighborhood of Sutter's to the heads of the Lake Fork. We got among heavy snows on the mountain summits; they were more rugged than I had elsewhere met them; suffered again as in our first passage; got among the "Horsethieves" (Indians who lay waste the California frontier), fought several, and fought our way down into the plain again and back to Sutter's. Tell your father that I have something handsome to tell him of some exploits of Carson and Dick Owens, and others.

I am now going on business to see some gentlemen on the coast, and will then join my people, and complete our survey in this part of the world as rapidly as possible. The season is now just arriving when vegetation is coming out in all the beauty I have often described to you; and in that part of my labors I shall gratify all my hopes. I find the theory of our Great Basin fully confirmed in having for its southern boundary ranges of lofty mountains. The Sierra, too, is broader where this chain leaves it than in any other part that I have seen. So soon as the proper season comes, and my animals are rested, we turn our faces homeward, and be sure that the grass will not grow under our feet.

All our people are well, and we have had no sickness of any kind among us, so that I hope to be able to bring back with me all that I carried out. Many months of hardships, close trials, and anxieties have tried me severely, and my hair is turning gray before its time. But all this passes, *et le bon temps viendra*.

[Larkin's Official Correspondence II, p. 146. Bancroft Library.]

[Translation. The original exists only in the form of a memorandum, unsigned and almost unintelligible, in the Documentos para la Historia de California in the Bancroft Library.]

Prefectory of the 2nd District

The undersigned Prefect of this District has the honour of applying to the Consul of the United States of the North by this note, asking if he will favor the Prefectory under his charge with an information of the object or commission under his charge, with which an officer (now

residing in your house, has arrived at this District with troops from the aforesaid Republic, and has advanced as far as the river Sacramento, that he may be able to do the same to his Excellency the Governor of the Department.

The undersigned embraces this opportunity of renewing to the Senor Consul of the United States his highest respect and consideration.

God and Liberty

Monterey January 29th 1846.

(Signed) MANUEL CASTRO

[Castro's Documentos para la Historia de California I, 316. Bancroft Library.]
[Original.]

Consulate of the United States
of America, Monterey, California
January 29, 1846.

The undersigned Consul of the United States of America, has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of this morning, requesting information respecting the motives Captain J. C. Fremont of the United States Army, has in visiting this Country; the undersigned is informed by Captain Fremont, that he has been ordered to survey the most practicable route from the United States to the Pacific Ocean, that he has left his Company of fifty hired men (not of the United States Army) on the frontiers of this Department for the purpose of resting themselves and animals, he has come himself to Monterey to obtain clothing, and funds to purchase animals and provisions, and when his men are recruited intends to continue his journey to the Oregon Territory.

The undersigned has the honour to offer to the Sor Prefect his highest esteem and consideration.

THOMAS O. LARKIN

To the Sor Prefect
of the 2nd. District
D. Manuel Castro }

[Larkin's Official Correspondence II, pp. 41-42. Bancroft Library.]
[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States, Monterey
California, March 4th, 1846.

Sir.

The undersigned has the honour to inform the Hon. Secretary, that Captⁿ. J. C. Fremont, arrived within this Department in January last

with his party of fifty men and was at the house of the undersigned a few days during the last month, for the purpose of procuring funds for refitting and clothing his Party, which he received as far as could be procured, he is now in this Vicinity surveying and will be again at this Consular House during this month, he then proceeds for the Oregon, returns here in May and expects to be in Washington about September. To this Gentleman is due from Government unqualified praise for his patience, industry, and indefatigable perseverance in the attaining the objects he is engaged in.

Mr Hastings, Author of the History of California arrived at New Helvetia, Sacrament River from the United States in January with eight or ten men, there is a company of Emigrants expected here this Spring from the Oregon, many of the three hundred from Independance who arrived in September or October, have purchased cattle, and are settling, the Commandant General went to the Sacrament to see them and bade them welcome to California.

There has a report reached here, that the Mormons are breaking up in the States, for the purpose of removing to this Country, which has caused some excitement and fear among the natives, who are also expecting the Mexican Troops from Acapulco; unless the Supreme Government supplies the New General with funds sufficient to pay his men while in California and the General has them under good discipline, they will in all probability have to leave for San Blas or Acapulco, in two or three years.

Captain Fremont passed three degrees South of Fort Hall, having taken a route supposed to be a desert which made his distance to California eight or nine hundred miles less; he considers the distance from Independance to Monterey, about one thousand nine hundred miles, he describes the new route he followed as preferable not only on account of the less distance, but less mountainous, with good pasture and well watered; the second day of his arrival in Monterey, he visited the Commandant General, Prefecto, and Alcalde, and by verbal requests of the General, informed him officially his object in visiting California, the undersigned forwards with this, the two annexed letters, respecting Captain Fremonts arrival.

I am Sir, with the highest respect and consideration, your most obedient servant.

Signed—THOMAS O. LARKIN.

To the Hon. }
Secretary of State }
City of Washington. }

[*Id.* pp. 42-43. Copy.]

Consulate of the United States of America
Monterey, March 5th, 1846.

Sir

The undersigned has the honor to forward to the Department of State, the accompanying translations of letters this day received in this Consulate. Captain J. C. Fremont has for near one month been slowly travelling and encamping within this district (say within eighty miles of this town) last week information was received by the Prefect from some Alcalde respecting a horse or mule of Captain Fremont, claimed by a Californian (I understand that the animal came from the States) last night notice was received, that some of Captain Fremont's party had offered some insult to some person or persons on a farm; the General has this day sent out ten or fifteen men with letters to Captain Fremont, ordering him away, I am not aware that any of the party have committed any excesses, and do not suppose such to be the case.

I am respectfully,

Signed— THOMAS O. LARKIN

To the Hon. }
Secretary of State }
City of Washington }

[Larkin's Official Correspondence, Vol. I, Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

Monterey, March 5th, 1846.

Sir.

I have just received two letters from the Commandant General of California, and Prefecto of this District, who inform me, they have sent you official letters, enclosing me the copies, the following is a translation, which with my answer I will send to you in English.

I remain, Dear Sir.

Yours sincerely

Signed — THOMAS O. LARKIN.

To Captain }
J. C. Fremont }
U. S. Army }

[*Id.* Vol. II, p. 43. Translation.]

Commandant General
of Upper California.

With this date I say to Captain J. C.

Fremont the following.

"At seven o'clock this morning the Commandant General was

given to understand that you and the party under your command have entered the Towns of this Department, and such being prohibited by our laws, I find myself obligated to advertise you, that on the receipt of this, you will immediately retire beyond the limits of this same Department; such being the orders of the Supreme Government, and the subscriber is obligated to see them complied with.

And the undersigned has the honor of transcribing the same to the Consul of the United States of America, for this knowledge of the same.

God, and Liberty, Monterey, March 5th. 1846.

Signed — JOSE CASTRO.

Mr. Thomas O. Larkin, Consul of the United States of America, in this Port— }

[*Id.* pp. 44. Translation.]

Prefectura del 2°. Districto—

Monterey, March 6th [5th], 1846.

Captain J. C. Fremont.

Sir.

I have learnt with surprize, that you, against the Laws of the Authorities of Mexico, have introduced yourself into the Towns of this Departmental District, under my charge with an armed force under a commission which must have been given you by your Government, only to survey its own proper lands.

In consequence this Prefectura now orders, that you will immediately on receipt of this, without any pretext, return with your people out of the limits of this Territory; if not, this Office will take the necessary measures to cause respect to this determination.

I have the honor to transcribe this to you, for your intelligence, that you may act in the case as belongs to your office, and that he may comply with the expressed order.

God and Liberty,

Monterey, March 5th. 1846.

Signed — MANUEL CASTRO.

Mr. Thomas O. Larkin }
Consul of the U. S. }
of America — — — — }

[Larkin Documents for the History of California, Vol. IV, Bancroft Library.]
[Original.]

In camp, March 5th 1846

My dear Sir,

It would have afforded me pleasure to thank you personally for the kindness of your late letters, but I am unwilling to leave my party and the presence of my little force might be disagreeable to the authorities in Monterey. I therefore practise the selfdenial which is a constant virtue here and forego the pleasure I should have found in seeing some little of society in your capital. Having seen nothing, what shall I say now to those who ask me of Hastings' accounts?

The bearer is one of my trustworthy men and I send him to you for any intelligence you may have received from the States, and beg you to give him the newspapers you spoke of in your last. As you may judge, your letter woke up some strong memories and since then my occupations here have lost something of their usual interest. But I shall soon be laboriously employed; the spring promises to be a glorious one, and a month or two will pass quickly and usefully among the flowers while we are waiting on the season for our operations in the north.

This evening I encamp on the Monterey river, where I will expect the return of my messenger tomorrow afternoon. If Mr. Hartnall could conveniently find the astronomical positions of Mr. Douglas which he mentioned, they would be of use to me now in my journey southward.

I need hardly say that it will afford me pleasure to be of service to you at home and I shall always be glad to hear from you. Can you tell me at about what time the letters I left with you will reach Washington? In May perhaps? Please offer my regards to Mrs. Larkin; I must certainly endeavor to see you again before leaving the country, and in the mean time am,

Yours truly

Thomas O. Larkin Esq^{re},
Consul for the United States
at Monterey.

J. C. FRÉMONT.

[Castro's Documentos para la Historia de California II, 32. Bancroft Library.]
[Original.]

Sir,
Consulate of the United States of
North America, Monterey, Mar. 6/46.

The undersigned, Consul of the United States of America, has the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your official note of yesterday,

containing a copy of your letter and order to captain J. C. Fremont, U. S. A^a. (now encamped near the Salinas River) with his men to leave this country immediately.—

The undersigned understood that your letter was yesterday carried to captain Fremont, by an officer having some eight or ten men under his charge; and that at this moment there are a large number of armed men collecting in this Town for the purpose of going to the camp of that American Officer — he would therefore take the liberty of saying that although he is well aware that you as a Mexican Officer and a patriot, are bound to take every step that may redound to the integrity and interest of your country, he would further observe that his countrymen must not be unjustly or unnecessarily harassed from causes that may arise from false reports and false appearances; and would recommend that if any party is going to the camp of captain Fremont, that said party be commanded by a trustworthy and experienced Officer; which may prevent affairs being brought, on the meeting of the two parties, to some unhappy conclusion—

The undersigned has the honor to subscribe
himself,

Your most Obt. Servant,

Al [—]Sor D. Manuel Castro,
Prefect of the second district, etc.

THOMAS O. LARKIN.

[From the Fort Sutter Papers, Henry E. Huntington Library.]

[Translation in Lieutenant Kern's handwriting.]

The Citizen José Castro Lieut Col-of the Mexican Army
and Commander in Chief of the Department of Cal.

Fellow Citizens: A band of robbers commanded by a Capt. of the U. S. Army J. C. Fremont, have, without respect to the laws & authorities of the Department daringly introduced themselves into the country and disobeyed the orders both of your Commander in Chief & of the Prefect of the district, by which he was required to march, forthwith, out of the limits of our Territory; & without answering their letters he remains encamped at the farm "Natividad" from which he sallies forth committing depredations, and making scandalous skirmishes.

In the name of our native country I invite you to place yourselves under my immediate orders at head quarters, where we will prepare to lance the Ulcer which (should it not be done) would destroy our liberties & independence for which you ought always to sacrifice yourselves, as will your friend and fellow citizen.

Head quarters at "San Juan"

8th March 1846

Signed JOSE CASTRO

[From Larkin's Official Correspondence, Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States
of America Monterey March 8th 1846

(Memorandum)

You will proceed as quick as possible. By all means see Captain Fremont tomorrow (Monday). You will show your passports and the letter to any person, who may as an Officer demand to see them. Should you by force have to deliver up my letter, do so, but endeavor to know who the party was who takes it.

Should the letter be taken from you endeavour to see by all means Capt Fremont, and tell him that I sent you with an Official letter, and who took it from you. You will tell him to guard himself against acts of treachery at night, and not to place any faith in haveing a regular warfare should there be any fighting and not to depend by any means on any of the Natives.

One given to a Native
And one to a Foreign Courier }

[Larkin's Official Correspondence, Vol. I, pp. 61-63. Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States,
Monterey, California, March the
8th, 1846.

Sir.

With this you have my Consular answer to the General and Prefecto's letter to you of last week, of which I had the honor to receive copies from them, I also add the Señor Prefecto's second letter to me of this day, by your Messenger of last week, I forwarded some United States, Newspapers, a Spanish Grammer, some Magazines, and English copies of the General's and Prefecto's letters to you on the 5th. instant. I then informed you that there was an American Brig (Brig Hannah, of Salem.) at anchor in this Port, bound to Mazatlan, whose Supercargo I had requested to remain here untill the third day to enable you to send letters to the United States if you were so inclined; I cannot tell whether my letter reached you, but heard of your man being almost at your Camp, the day before yesterday, I have now to inform you (and my information is derived from the current reports of the day) that General Castro was on the plain last night with about sixty people, — many more from the Ranchos joined him to day, at this moment some forty men are preparing to leave Monterey to join the party, I should think to morrow he might have two hundred men perhaps more, many of the common people will join through choice others

by being so ordered by the General, among the other class, there are some looking on the affair with indifference, some perhaps with favor to either side as their friendship to the present authorities or their own interest may govern them, respecting the result there are various opinions.

It is not for me to point out to you, your line of conduct, you have your Government Instructions, my knowledge of your character, obliges me to believe, you will follow them, you of course are taking every care and safeguard to protect your men, but not knowing your actual situation, and the people who surround you, your care may prove insufficient. You are Officially ordered to leave the Country; I am sure you will use your own discretion on the subject; your danger may remain in supposing, that no uncommon means will be taken for your expulsion, although the expressions of the common people under the passions of the moment, breathe vengeance in every form against you. I cannot conclude, that so so much will be put in force, should they succeed in overpowering you. Therefore only wish you to suppose yourself in a situation, where you must take every measures to prevent a surprize, from those you may consider partly friends. Should my ideas be correct, the act perhaps will originate, not from the heads, or the respectability of the Country, but from those of a more headstrong class, who having fought so many (called) battles, may consider themselves invincible.

Your encamping so near Town, has caused much excitement, the Natives are firm in the belief, that they will break you up, and that you can be entirely destroyed by their power; in all probability they will attack you, the result either way may cause trouble hereafter to Resident Americans. I myself have no fear on the subject, yet believe the present state of affairs may cause an interruption to business. Should it be impossible or inconvenient for you to leave California at present, I think in a proper representation to the General and Perfecto, an arrangement, could be made for your Camp to be continued, but at some greater distance; which arrangement I would advise, if you can offer it. I never make to this Government an unreasonable request, therefore never expect a denial, and have, for many years found them well disposed to me. You cannot well leave your people, should you wish to see me, I will immediately visit your Camp, please answer directly by the Bearer.

I am Yours, very truly in heart

Signed — THOMAS O. LARKIN.

Captain J. C. Fremont, }
United States Army, Alisal. }

The following is the answer

[March 9, 1846.]

My Dear Sir.

I this moment received your letters and without waiting to read them, acknowledge the receipt which the Courier requires instantly, I am making myself as strong as possible in the intention that if we are unjustly attacked we will fight to extremity and refuse quarter, trusting to our country to avenge our death. No one has reached my camp, and from the heights we are able to see troops (with the glass) mustering at St. Johns and preparing cannon. I thank you for your Kindness and good wishes and would write more at length as to my intentions, did I not fear that my letter will be intercepted, we have in no wise done wrong to the people or the authorities of the country, and if we are hemmed in and assaulted here, we will die every man of us under the Flag of our country.

Very truly yours

Signed — J. C. FREMONT.

P. S. I am encamped on the top of the Sierra at the head water of a stream which strikes the road to Monterey, at the house of Don Joaquin Gomez.

J. C. F.

Thomas O. Larkin, Esq.
Consul for the United-
States, at Monterey.

Consulate of the United States, Mon-
terey, March 10th, 1846.

To which was added on
giving the Alcalde a Copy.

This letter wrote in haste by Captain Fremont with his pencil, I received last night at 8 o'clock, I permit the translation at the request of Don Manuel Diaz, Alcalde of Monterey (he having given yesterday a passport to my Courier to go to the Camp and return to me) with the hopes of its allaying the present sensations, bringing affairs to a better understanding, and, that the authorities may not suppose I have any improper correspondence with Captain Fremont.

Signed — THOMAS O. LARKIN.

[Larkin's Official Correspondence II, pp. 44-45. Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States, Monterey,
March 9th, 1846

Sir.

Enclosed you have a copy of my answer to the General and Prefecto of this place, one to Captain Fremont and the second letter from the Prefect; Captain Fremont is eight or nine leagues from this, encamped, intending to move as soon as the state of his horses will permit. There will be two or three hundred people collected together by tomorrow, with the intention of attacking the camp. Captain Fremont has about fifty men, all men of confidence and remarkably well armed, neither himself or men have any fear respecting the result of the present state of affairs, yet be the result for or against him, may prove of a disadvantage to the resident Americans in California. I have at some expence dispatched out two couriers to the Camp, with duplicate letters, and this letter I send to Santa Barbara in expectation of finding a vessel bound to Mazatlan; having over one half of my Hospital expences of 1844, cut off, and know not why, and even my bill for a Flag; I do not feel disposed to hazard much expence for Government, though the life of Captain Fremont and party may need it, I hardly know how to act. I have received only one letter (of June) from the Department, for the year 1845. In the month of February, Captain Fremont, in my company visited the General, Prefecto, and Alcalde of this place; informed them of his business, and there was no objection made. Within twenty days, the General says, he has received direct and specified orders from Mexico, not to allow Captain Fremont to enter California, —which perhaps accounts for the change of feelings with the people.

I am Sir, with the highest respect
and consideration, your most obedient
servant.

Signed — THOMAS O. LARKIN.

To the Hon. }
Secretary of State }
City of Washington }

[Larkin's Official Correspondence, Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States, Monterey,
California, March 9th, 1846.

Sir.

Enclosed with this, you will receive several copies of correspondence in this town, for the present week, also an official letter for the Captain of any of our Ships of War, you may have in your Port on your receiving this letter. It's impossible to say whether Señor Castro, the Prefecto, and the General will attack Captain Fremont, we expect such will be the case.

I am just informed by Señor Arce, the General's Secretary who has just come in from the General's Camp (Saint John's) that the whole country will be raised to force out Captain Fremont, if they require so many. Señ^r. Arce further says, the Camp of the Americans are near Mr. Hartnells, Rancho, on a high hill with his Flag flying, of the latter I am not sure. As you are acquainted with this Country and its people, you will advise with our Naval Captains on the subject, of sailing immediately for this Port, if the Vessel is not actually obliged to go elsewhere; it is my earnest desire she sails for Monterey on the receipt of this; although every thing many end peaceably amongst us.

Believe me to be yours sincerely

Signed — THOMAS O. LARKIN.

To John Parrott, Esq^r.

United States Consul, in Mazatlan —

[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts. In Larkin's handwriting.]

[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States,
Monterey, California, March 9th, 1846.

Sir.

Captain J. C. Freemont with a party of fifty men has been within the limits of California about two months, within a few days encamped about eight leagues from this Town, resting his men & animals, he has received two letters from the General & Prefecto, wherein he is ordered to leave this Country, or they will take immediate measures to compel him, they sent me copies of the same, which I have sent in English to Captain Freemont. I have not heard from the Camp since, this morning I wrote to Captain Freemont in duplicate, one by a Native, the

other by a Foreigner; by to morrow there will be collected together nearly three hundred men, with the intention to drive out the strangers, and if required, there will be by the next week, a much larger body collected; should this force be used against Captain Freemont, much blood will be shed, his party though only fifty in number, have from three to six guns, rifles, and pistols each, and are very determined, both Commander & men, having every confidence in each other.

It was the intention of Captain Freemont, to leave this week, if his animals were in good condition, perhaps he may not now be willing, as the people wish to force him; he was at my house alone in February, and in company with me, visited the General, Prefect & Alcalde, informed them of his orders to survey the nearest route to the Pacific, and had come into California to purchase provisions, clothes & other necessities, including horses; no objection was made at the time, since then, the General states, that he has received by the "Hannah," positive orders from Mexico, to drive Captain Freemont from the Country.

I shall send this letter open to Consul Parrott of Mazatlan, with copies of this weeks correspondence: If there is a fight between these people & Captain Freemont, be the result for or against him; the American residents are under some apprehensions of the safety hereafter: I would therefore request you, if in your power, to despatch a Sloop of War, to this Port, from Mazatlan, on the receipt of this.

I understand there were in December, five of our Ships of War then in that Port, should this be the case, I hope it will not be inconvenient, to comply with this request: I have looked for the Portsmouth over two months; Captain Montgomery informed me he was to return.

I remain, Sir's

Your respectfull servant

Signed — THOMAS O. LARKIN.

To the Comman-
der of any American
Ship of War, in San
Blas, or Mazatlan.

Monterey May 29— 1846 —

The above is a copy of the original — draw off at the request of Captain Montgomery — Captain Freemont was not attacked — the Californians did not come within three leagues of his camp — he is now on his way to Origon.

THOMAS O. LARKIN

[Larkin's Official Correspondence I, 84, pp. 65-66. Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States,
Monterey, California, March 10th, 1846.

Sir.

Your letter of yesterday I received last night at eight o'clock, thank you for the same, it took from me a weight of uneasiness respecting your situation. The Alcalde of Monterey has requested from me a copy in Spanish of your letter, not knowing what you might approve of in the case, I had some objection, on second thoughts I considered that the Alcalde having given the Courier a passport (without which he would not go) carrying of the letters both ways were made public, and people might put a wrong construction on our correspondence. I gave it to him with the following addition (see No. 80.)

I also considered the letter contained nothing of importance to keep secret, and now annex my letter of this morning to the Alcalde, as you may not have a copy of your letter, I send one; my Native Courier said he was well treated by you, that two thousand men could not drive you. In all cases of Couriers, order your men to have no hints or words with them, as it is magnified, this one said a man pointed to a tree, and said there's your life, he expected to be led to you, blindfolded, says you have sixty two men, well armed. Etc. Etc.

You will without thought of expence or trouble, call on me, or send to me, in every case or need, not only as your Consul, but your Friend and Countryman.

I am Yours truly
Signed—THOMAS O. LARKIN.

To Captain
J. C. Fremont —
United States —
Army

[From Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Translation.]

Consulship of the United States —
Monterey March 10, 1846

My dear Sir.

I am ignorant if it would meet with the approbation of Captain Fremont, that I should permit, that of the note which he wrote with so much precipitation, the translation should be made which you solicit. But since it pleases you to allow that my courier should pass to the encampment of said officer, and trusting that the contents of the said

note will contribute to calm the minds, and preserve harmony I consent that the translation which you wish may be made

Perhaps the authorities have conceived suspicions in relation to my person, considering the difficulty of the circumstances, being Consul of the United States, but I cannot remedy it. Nevertheless, you may know that verbally I have offered my services, always when I have judged them in any manner useful, the same as now I am lending them by writing. Captain Fremont has his particular instructions, which it is not one of the attributes of this consulship to alter, nevertheless I will do as much as may be reconcilable with my functions to avoid any conflict whatsoever.

It only remains for me to ask you respectfully, that when you write to-day to the General, that you make known to him on my part, that I take the liberty to propose to him that before proceeding to extremities, he will please to address a communication to Captain Fremont, in which he shall ask of him an hour's interview. I am in the firm belief that there will be a copious effusion of blood, if the officer in question is attacked, and there would result from a step of such a nature, not only, that many lives would be lost on both sides, but it would be the origin of great expenses, considerable damages, and perhaps a greater flow of blood in the future, between the citizens of our respective nations.

Finally, intimately convinced I am, that forcible measures will not produce a single good, but evils of great magnitude now and in the time to come.

I have powerful motives for believing that Capt Freemont as yet remains where he is, with the sole end of affording his horses some rest, (since he has already bought his provisions) and immediately afterwards, he will go out of the Departm^t. of California. But he cannot verify this, inasmuch as he sees himself surrounded by people in whom he observes decided intentions of hostility

I beg you to send a copy of this note to the Commandant General D. Jose Castro, and I have the honor to subscribe myself with the greatest respect

(Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN

To

Don Manuel Diaz Alcalde of Monterey.

Captain Fremont.

I direct this with the correspondence of the Alcalde to the General, I know not, if it will arrive or not in your possession. By the Blacksmith Joseph who formerly belonged to that company under your command, I remit to you the original of the letter that I received.

[Larkin's Official Correspondence, Bancroft Library.]

[Copy.]

Consulate of the United States
Monterey, March 19th, 1846.

Sir.

Accompanying this you have a true translation of Captain J. C. Fremont's letter to me on the ninth, the morning after I received it, Mr. Hartnell by request of the Alcalde made the translation, a copy of which was that day forwarded to the Governor, a few hours afterwards I found that Mr. Hartnell had translated "I will refuse quarter," into I will not give quarter, this making Captain Fremont's statement the very reverse of what he intended it; the Alcalde Senr. Diaz has promised me to send a true copy to the Governor, and recall the one already sent, this he may forget. I therefore wish you to make it your particular business to exchange this one with the Governor, and have the other erased; should the Governor wait advices from the Alcalde, you will request him not to allow it to go out of his hands or have it copied untill he hears from the Alcalde, you will please see if the copy now in the Generals possession is in Mr. Hartnell's hand writing, if not, in whose writing it is, your attention to this and immediate answer will oblige me, from Captain Fremont's visit, I am under the idea, that great plans are meditated to be carried out by certain persons.

I remain

Yours respectfully

[THOMAS O. LARKIN]

To Abel Stearns, Esqr }
Pueblo de los Angeles }

[Larkin Documents for the History of California, Vol. IV. Bancroft Library.]

[Original.]

Vice consulate of the United States
of America Yerba buena March the 19th.
1846

Sir.

On the 14th instant I received an official document, from the Sub Prefect relative to Captain Fremont's having hoisted the American flag &c. I herewith forward you my answer to the sub Prefect, as also a copy of my letter to the consul at Oahu, I hope that I have not done

wrong in having forwarded your official letter directed to Mazatland, to Oahu, my reasons for doing so, is on account of Captain Phelps advising me to do so, he mentioning that when you gave him the letter, that he understood it was to call a man of war here, and in consequence of his not going leward, and their being a good oportunity for Oahu I sent it, supposing what he mentioned to be true, I hope all the difficulties have been aranged, please to send me all the news, by some safe oportunity, as I have not received or heard from you, since I was at Monterey the news here at present is, that Captain Freemont ran away at night, leaving several articles in his camp to viz, a green cloak 3 or 4 axes some cash and some cooking utensals, however I do not vouch for its correctness, I am also told that at Monterey Castro has taken 15 American prisoners, I have reasons to believe that all my letters are stoped on the road therefore please to send my letters by sea,

I Remain Your Obt Servt

W^m A. LEIDESDORFF

The

U. S. Consul

T. O. Larkin Esq.

Monterey

BOOK REVIEWS

The Spanish Southwest. 1542-1794. An annotated bibliography by Henry R. Wagner. Berkeley: [Privately published by the Author,] 1924. 5 l., 302 pp. Facs. 4°.

This is an exceptionally notable work, and one which among others of its kind has perhaps no equal. In appearance and in the elaboration of its details, exhaustive notes, and wealth of illustrations, the superb earlier work of Garcia Icazbalceta, *Bibliografia Mexicana* [1886], might present some resemblance. But as the individual subjects of these two works are widely divergent, therein the resemblance ends.

Mr. Wagner's work is the completed result of many years of wide research and profound study made amidst the legion of difficulties which at all times confront and render onerous the labors of the bibliographer. The work of the author was carried on for many years in the Archives in Mexico, and more recently in Seville and elsewhere. Having possessed fortunately many of the books he has described, his studies and deductions to a very large extent have been made at first-hand. A preliminary essay was issued from Santiago, Chile, in 1917. In that primary work, to the year 1794 in which the present volume ends, there were enumerated 125 titles. In its amplification the present work includes 175 distinct original works, with notes upon many editions and translations of the same works which have appeared subsequently.

In his introduction the author has defined concisely the scope of his work: "The field covered by this work comprises those parts of the United States which formerly formed part of the province of New Spain." The field thus covered is Arizona, California, New Mexico and Texas, beside the frontier states of Mexico with which some of the above were connected under Spanish rule. These works naturally comprehend many features of history, exploration, description, geography, colonization, biography, political and civil affairs, the activities of the Jesuits, and many other matters. Beginning with Cabeza de Vaca, the doughty conquistador, it carries him in his wanderings far afield; ending with the simple Dominican friar, Luis Sales, it describes his modest little work *Tres Cartas*, which although principally a compilation is even yet the most extensive account of California issued in that decade.

To the full collations there has been added a mass of annotations so extensive that it would appear that the learned author had investi-

gated and exhausted all of the known sources of authority upon the subject of his mighty researches. More than 100 facsimiles of title-pages illustrate the text. The value of this unusual work cannot be too fully estimated, nor can the author be too highly commended. Some bibliographers know no perfection in their labors, for while the plan may be admirable, the work be worthy, and the results above criticism, the human mind at best has still its limitations. That Mr. Wagner has recognized and clearly seen this fact is evident. In his preface he has quoted most fittingly and happily the noble utterance of the distinguished bibliographer, Rezebal y Ugarte: "The aspiration that writings, especially those of this class, should be entirely perfect when they leave the hands of the author is a preoccupation which has prejudiced in the highest degree the progress of our literature."

One hundred copies of this work were privately issued, eighty of which were placed upon the market. Of this latter number, twenty were specially bound and extra illustrated by the insertion of fifteen facsimiles in photostat of manuscript documents and maps in the Archives of the Indies in Seville. These, all of Californian interest, include documents relating to Cabrillo, Vizcaino, Kino, Portolá and others. The arrangements of the many titles in the book is chronological, and the author has supplied a thorough and comprehensive index.

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

Stevenson's California. By Henry Meade Bland. Published by the Pacific Short Story Club of San Jose, California. Eaton and Co., Printers. 36 pp. Illustrated.

For collectors of Stevensoniana, or for those interested in the varied and often picturesque phases of the life of the well-beloved R. L. S. it is a rare month which does not add one or more items to their shelves. Last year appeared Miss Rosaline Masson's collection, "I Can Remember Robert Louis Stevenson"; her "Life of Robert Louis Stevenson"; a little later the "Complete Poems", embracing more than two hundred hitherto unpublished; and a collection of "Short Stories", gathering into one convenient volume tales which had been scattered through several. Early this year "An Intimate Portrait of R. L. S." by Lloyd Osbourne, was published. We are promised for next month a new "Critical Biography" in two large volumes, by John A. Steuart, and we have now at hand this attractive little book, Stevenson's California, by Professor Henry Meade Bland of the State Teachers' College at San Jose.

Katherine Osbourne in her "Robert Louis Stevenson in California",

published in 1911, and Mrs. Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez in an article in Scribner's Magazine of October, 1916, "In California with Robert Louis Stevenson," have covered the same ground. Portions of the material are also to be found in Balfour's and Miss Masson's "Lives", in J. A. Hammerton's "Stevensoniana" and in Stevenson's own letters; nevertheless in these days when he who reads must also run it is a convenience to find scattered information condensed within a few pages. We are all attracted to a new book and a fresh view, and youth, especially, whom it is so desirable to lure into the paths of literature, is more apt to pick up a new, small volume in a pretty dress than to take out an old one from the bookshelves. So there is a place for Professor Bland's monograph. If it does not "fill a long-felt want", it may create a new one, which is better. Reading of this short, but important, period of Stevenson's life may whet the appetite for more.

The book is tastefully bound in blue boards with a picture of Stevenson on the cover. It contains a number of interesting illustrations which include Dr. David Starr Jordan, Edwin Markham, Charles Warren Stoddard, John Vance Cheney, George Wharton James, Jules Simoneau and others. There is also a picture of the Casco and one of the house in which Stevenson lodged in Monterey. The latter is not wholly satisfactory as it is only of the main part of the building and does not show the ell in which Stevenson's rooms were situated.

The proof-reading leaves much to be desired, and regard for historical accuracy impels the correction of a few mistakes.

When Stevenson made his way to Monterey as soon as possible after his arrival in San Francisco on August 30, 1879, in the old, rose-embowered adobe home of Señorita Bonifacio, he found Mrs. Osbourne and her younger sister, Nellie Van de Grift, not then Mrs. Sanchez. She did not marry until after Stevenson had taken his wife to Scotland. The Señorita's name is misspelled, but that is probably a printer's error. "*Deux Reaux*" is scarcely Spanish for "Two Bits", but perhaps the same printer is responsible for omitting the "*Dos Reales*" of the quotation.

The question of where Stevenson visited Charles Warren Stoddard and whence he carried away Stoddard's "South Sea Idylls" and Melville's "Omoo" is, perhaps, not as important as the fact that these books and his talks with Stoddard roused in him and nourished a latent desire for the South Seas; but as the different writers, who name three different hills of San Francisco as the home of Stoddard when he and Stevenson met, cannot all be correct, it is best to settle the point if we can. Bailey Millard in a newspaper series called "Men and Mileposts", stages their companionship "in Stoddard's quaint study on the sunny

slopes of Russian Hill", but offers no supporting evidence for that site. Katherine Osbourne, in her book, "Robert Louis Stevenson in California", places the scene on Telegraph Hill, but also with no evidence. Professor Bland agrees with her choice, quoting directly from Stoddard himself, "I had my lodge in San Francisco on glorious Telegraph Hill when I met him first"; but it would seem that either Stoddard's or Professor Bland's memory must have been at fault, for Stoddard, in his book, "In the Footprints of the Padres", (pages 84-87 of the New and Enlarged Edition of 1912) expressly says that his home was then on Rincon Hill, which had once been a fashionable part of the city, with spacious houses standing in pretty gardens. He minutely describes the region after the Second Street cut had spoiled it. He depicts the ruined Gothic house which was his home: "a house which even then stood upon the order of its going", where "the side door had become the front door because the rest of the building was gone". He says further: "I sat within patiently awaiting the day of doom, for the fall of the house at the northwest corner of Harrison and Second Streets must mark my fall. While I was biding my time there came to me a lean, lithe stranger. I knew him for a poet by his unshorn locks and his luminous eyes, the pallor of his face and his exquisitely sensitive hands. He was a poet and romancer and his name was Robert Louis Stevenson. . . . He used to come to that eyrie on Rincon Hill to chat and dream. . . The little picture that Louis Stevenson had of it in its decay gave him a few realistic pages for 'The Wrecker'." So much for Stoddard. Surely nothing could be more circumstantial. On pages 160-162 of "The Wrecker" (Edition of 1892, Charles Scribner's Sons), Stevenson gives a detailed description of the place, of his first meeting with Stoddard and of those which followed, for it is well known that in Loudon Dodd he portrayed some of his own experiences in San Francisco. Stevenson does not name the hill, but no one with a knowledge of San Francisco could fail to recognize the Rincon Hill of those days, "the row of toppling houses, each with its bit of garden, a place of deep cuttings, solitary ancient houses, and the butt-end of streets". His description of the place and the meetings tallies with Stoddard's. He closes with this passage: "It was in such talks that I first heard the names—first fell under the spell—of the islands; and it was from the first of them that I returned (a happy man) with Omoo under one arm and my friend's own adventures under the other". Miss Ina Coolbrith, the poet, a close friend of Stoddard from his earliest manhood, remembers well the house of these descriptions, on Rincon Hill, Hawthorne Street, near Second; and Mrs. Sanchez, Stevenson's sister-in-law, recalls a visit there in those days. Reading these explicit state-

ments, one cannot escape the conclusion that Rincon Hill, not Telegraph or Russian, was the place of Stoddard's and Stevenson's fascinating talks.

The Stevenson Fellowship (the proper name of the club of which Professor Bland writes) did not originate especially with Stanford people, nor was it headed by Howard V. Sutherland, the poet. The originator was Mr. Alexander Mackay Sutherland, a young Scotchman from Wick, the scene of Stevenson's early trial of the lighthouse engineering profession of his forefathers. In 1901 and 1902 the commemorative birthday dinners of the Fellowship took place in Donadieu's restaurant on Bush Street. This place was chosen, as Professor Bland says, because Stevenson ate most of his frugal dinners there. Only for those two meetings was any attempt made to follow Stevenson's bills-of-fare. By the third meeting the Fellowship had outgrown the small room at Donadieu's. From about thirty the membership had increased to sixty or seventy. The California Hotel across the way, was the gathering place from that time until the disaster of 1906. Before this Donadieu's had been demolished, to make way for a larger building. There was no "conviviality" in the sense of Professor Bland's pleasantry at any of the meetings. They were rare occasions when friends and lovers of Stevenson were drawn together by a common interest, to express their admiration and affection for his personality, life and books. Mr. Sutherland was eminently successful in arranging interesting meetings at which Dr. David Starr Jordan frequently presided. At the early gatherings were many who had known Stevenson in life; Mrs. Stevenson; her sister, Mrs. Sanchez; Mrs. Virgil Williams; Miss Annie Ide (later Mrs. Bourke Cockran) to whom Stevenson had devised his birthday; Jules Simoneau, the old French Restaurant keeper of Monterey, and others. There were formal addresses and intimate talks by Stanford and University of California professors and others best qualified to give them. Unpublished letters of Stevenson were read, and many from his friends from almost every quarter of the globe; from his old nurse, "Cummy", from Will Low and other early companions, from Lord Roseberry and other officers of the Stevenson Society abroad, and, among the most notable, one from Mataafa, a High Chief of Samoa, closing with these words: "My God is the same God who has called away Tusitala, and when it has pleased Him for my appointed time to come, then I will gladly join Tusitala in that eternal home where we meet to part no more." Professor Alexander McAdie, after he had left San Francisco for Harvard University, wrote: "Wherever gentle spirits and high-purposed souls gather together, be it west or east; on the high seas or around the Sierran campfires, there be sure some

tongue will tell of personal indebtedness to Robert Louis Stevenson". For one of the meetings Miss Balfour, "Chief of our Aunts" of "The Child's Garden of Verses", sent heather from Colinton Manse, the home of Stevenson's grandfather, where he had passed many of his childhood days. Following the fire of 1906 the birthday banquets were continued a few years in various places. After Mr. Sutherland had withdrawn from the leadership a few of the faithful still met on each thirteenth of November, "to remember Robert Louis Stevenson" and to hang a wreath upon the fountain in Portsmouth Square.

Professor Bland errs in ascribing to the children of San Francisco the financing of that monument to Stevenson's memory, the earliest of his memorials. It was unveiled in 1897. He has probably confused this with the Stevenson Foundation, an enterprise for which money was raised by the school children in 1913. The object was the support of a bed in the Children's Hospital of San Francisco, as a memorial to R. L. S.

Professor Bland has also confused the two restaurants, Donadieu's which Stevenson frequented for his dinners, and Frank Garcia's, known as "Frank's", slightly more expensive, where he went on special occasions when he was in funds. Mrs. Sanchez has written of such a festivity when she and her sister accompanied him.

With whatever propriety "e" replaces "i" in the first syllable of the name of the great Latin poet, Mr. Virgil Williams retained the "i" in his.

Were it not that myths grow so rapidly and spread so far it might seem unessential to correct these errors in an otherwise charming book—a book in which Professor Bland has himself cleared the atmosphere around some matters about which there is more or less confusion in the public mind. Over and over in public print the house on the corner of Hyde and Lombard Streets has been referred to as "Stevenson's home", whereas, as Professor Bland states, it was not built until several years after Stevenson's death. The length of Stevenson's stay in California is also in this book set down with proper dates. One newspaper not so long ago said that he remained in San Francisco "a long time", while one of more recent date, in reporting a gathering of Napa County people at the monument erected to his memory on Mount St. Helena, said "he lived in that vicinity many years", both statements absurdly wrong, though, doubtless, to Stevenson his stay seemed long in what he called, "that, to me, dreary city" where he was so desperately ill and his fortunes at their lowest ebb.

The emphasis which Professor Bland places on Stevenson's character is fine, and he gives a life-like portrait of Jules Simoneau with his

philosophy of contentment and perfect loyalty to his friend, a loyalty which was his ruling passion down to the day of his death. Professor Bland was allowed to read and copy from the endearing inscriptions which R. L. S. wrote in each of his volumes as he sent it to the man who had befriended him in his need. Those precious books which no money could tempt Simoneau to part with, no matter how sharply poverty pressed him, were purchased after his death by Mr. A. A. Brown of San Francisco. He had them sumptuously rebound by a celebrated binder, making an extra volume of Stevenson's letters to his "good friend", and enclosed the whole in a finely-carved case of Monterey cypress.

The fate of the *Casco* does not come within the scope of Professor Bland's little book, but the association of the boat with Stevenson adds interest to a tale romantic in itself. After it was returned to the owner by Stevenson it had some further use as a pleasure boat and then an adventurous career as a trading vessel in the South Seas, a fishing schooner in Artic Waters and a sealer. It was confiscated as a seal-poacher by the Canadian government, served for a time as a training ship for Canadian boys, was sold at auction and again come into American hands. After a time it came to rest in the Estuary at Oakland, California; but the spirit of adventure still lingered in "The Silver Ship" and in 1919 it was fitted out, on shares, by thirty men, to sail again into northern waters. They were variously reported to be on a quest for gold in the rivers of Siberia, for sapphires buried with a Chinese Emperor away "back of the beyond", or for some other form of hidden treasure. It was generally asserted that a mysterious map was to be their guide. One old sailor of the water front told a tale to all who would listen of an old, stained map, describing where treasure was buried, which was found between the timbers of the *Casco*. He chuckled as he recalled the writer of the adventurous tales who had once sailed in the ship, and asserted that Stevenson had drawn this fictitious map and had lost it, with other papers, in a crack in the planking. This was the map, he said which was luring the men to the north. Whatever the impetus or object, it was certainly an adventure after Stevenson's own heart. In June the *Casco* sailed out the Golden Gate for the last time. Two months later it was caught in the ice and crushed on the rocks of King's Island, Bering Straits. The crew escaped, salvaged enough from the vessel to build a shelter for themselves on the island, whence they were later rescued by the government boat, the *Bear*.

HELEN THROOP PURDY.

Vigilante Days at Virginia City. Personal Narrative of Col. Henry E. Dosch, Member of Fremont's Body Guard and One-time Pony Express Rider. By Fred Lockley. Portland, Oregon: published by the Author, no date or copy-right. 19 pp. 8°.

The narrator of these reminiscences has had one of those strangely varied, picturesque, up-and-down careers of the old time Western pioneer. A military training in Germany permitted him to rise from the grade of an enlisted man, in the Civil War, to become Colonel of his regiment in less than three years. But this achievement did not make him too proud to hire out as an ox-team driver for a freighting firm operating to Salt Lake City. The trip from Omaha took 58 days. Dosch then determined to go on to California. On the Humboldt Divide his party found the remains of an entire immigrant train, massacred by the Indians.

Arriving almost penniless, at Virginia City, Nevada, Dosch took the first available job, pick-and-shovel work, and later entered into the dangerous occupation of Pony Express riding, between Virginia City and Lake Tahoe—33 miles with three changes of horses.

That was the hey-day of Virginia City. The watchful Vigilantes had begun their midnight operations,—entertaining undesirables with unexpectedly informal neck-tie parties. Mark Twain, reporter on the "Territorial Enterprise," found no lack of news.

Strenuous pony-riding was too much for Dosch, who, with his lungs bleeding from alkali dust, betook himself to San Francisco. The metropolis proved a poor place, however, for recuperation and after all sorts of misfortunes, disappointments and even the direst poverty, he engaged with Tillman and Bendel who were operating a wholesale grocery business with branches in Oregon. Thither Dosch went and was put to weighing gold-dust at a store of the firm at the Dalles.

Only a year later he found himself in partnership with a freighting company at Canyon City. Here he came to know C. H. Miller who was then (1865) sending his verses to the "Times-Mountaineer" at the Dalles, using the pseudonym of John Smith, Jr., it is said. Later, Miller ran "a good deal of his verse" in the "Blue Mountain Eagle" at Canyon City. Dosch's tastes did not favor those early efforts and he complains that Miller was continually pestering him by reading his poetry out loud.

Success followed misfortune in Dosch's later career, as it had in earlier days. He achieved distinction and was active in the organization of the Lewis and Clark Fair, and the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific and the Panama-Pacific Expositions.

The Birds of California. A Complete, Scientific and Popular Account of the 580 Species and Subspecies of Birds Found in the State. By William Leon Dawson. Los Angeles: South Moulton Company, 1923 [1924]. 4 vols. xviii, 2122 pp. Small 4°. (96 pls. in the Booklovers' Edition).

This sumptuous work is issued in five editions, which differ in style of binding, paper, and number of extra illustrations. The text is said to be the same in all editions. Originally projected in 1910 on the subscription plan, 64 parts were to be issued separately. The first two of these, the first 128 pages, were published in 1921, but no more were sent out and the completed work was delivered to the first subscribers in March, 1924.

Scarcely anywhere will one find a handsomer work of its kind. The presswork and illustrations are superb. The color plates and drawings represent Major Brooks' well known talent at its best. The photographs by Dawson, Dickey, Pierce, Finley and others have probably never been excelled in artistry. And their scientific merit is enhanced by the absence of retouching and by the fact that the photography has been done, often under the most difficult conditions, in the field. Some of the elaborate "borders" of the text-figures are disconcerting and should have been simplified or omitted.

The text is written with Dawson's characteristic, literary charm. The reading is entertaining, vivid, easy, varied, and interlarded abundantly with human reflections and anecdotal, even mystical interpolations. It will furnish admirers with many a pleasant hour, while more seriously minded ornithologists will be inclined to disapprove certain trivial and unnecessarily cynical remarks directed against the methods employed in their profession.

Bibliography of California Ornithology. Second Installment. To end of 1923. By Joseph Grinnell. Berkeley: Cooper Ornithological Club (Pacific Coast Avifauna Number 16), 1924. 191 pp. 8°.

The titles in this "second installment" number 2286 of which only 119 pertain to the years covered by the first installment, issued in 1909. The work is done with that exactitude and thoroughness characteristic of Dr. Grinnell's publications. Running comments, terse and critical, amplify the original titles. The arrangement is chronological.

Out-of-the-way citations include: Cassin and Stephens, "Illustrations of the Birds of California," Philadelphia, 1852 (the "suppressed" first number); Boucard, "Catalogus Avium," London, 1876; articles

in "California Traveller and Naturalist," San Jose, 1892-1893; Jordan, "A Short Narrative of My Life," San Francisco, 1901; Prime, "Here and There a Bird Seen and Heard," Zurich, 1906, (relating to Santa Barbara).

Animal Life in the Yosemite. An account of the Mammals, Birds, Reptiles and Amphibians in a Cross-Section of the Sierra Nevada. By Joseph Grinnell and Tracy Irwin Storer. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1924. xviii, 752 pp. 62 pls. 8°.

The remarkable variety of the animal life of California, its unique character, and its association with the life of the aborigines, explorers, fur-traders, gold-hunters, and early settlers, provides a thrilling background for the history of our native fauna.

Sportsman, tourist, nature lover, pioneer naturalist, industrial and agricultural expert and academic investigator have all contributed to the development of knowledge that will some day result in a proper account of our entire range of natural history. Yet progress here has been literally a race with death, for the inhabitants of the mountains, forests, fields and streams are being exterminated under our eyes by careless exploiters. What has already happened to the California grizzlies may soon overtake the sea-elephant, the sea-otter, the antelope, the elk and the condor. Immense flocks of sheep and goats are driven across the meadows and ridges of the farthest summits of our mountains. Their close grazing denudes the soil, exterminates forage plants, and diminishes the water supply. Their herders kill the larger and scarcer game without regard for sportsmen's rules or the law.

In the midst of this destruction it is refreshing to turn to our national parks where an attempt at least is being made to hold back commercial exploitation. It is of one of the most attractive of these mountain retreats that Grinnell and Storer's account is written.

Collection of data by museum field-parties, forest rangers and park officials over a period of about six years and painstaking study at the University Museum, where the collections are housed, has been preliminary to the publication of this comprehensive and informative volume. The result is a really scientific treatise dealing almost entirely with new facts and material. At the same time it is an understandable, non-technical contribution that can be appreciated and referred to without special study of the field.

The area considered is a limited one including the Yosemite Valley,

a portion of the high Sierras, and the Mono Lake district; a narrow strip across the Sierra westward to the edge of the San Joaquin plains. Time limitations unfortunately prevented a survey of the floor of the Hetch Hetchy valley, now totally and permanently destroyed.

Separate treatment of each species is attempted. Short descriptions and a paragraph outlining the range and habitat precede a running, summary account of habits and occurrences within the area, relations of animals to human interests, and, in the case of some of the larger game, historical records of former abundance.

The illustrations of living animals are delightful, especially the beautiful color-plates and drawings by Major Allan Brooks, also the photographs of a burrowing gopher in action, the badger, chipmunk, grey squirrel, long-eared owls, young magpie and house-wren. Numerous photographs of dead, corpse-like "specimens" while doubtless of some scientific value, strongly offend one's artistic sense and give no adequate illustration of the many unique postures, mannerisms and habitat preferences by which animals can often be recognized.

The authors have provided a worth-while book certain to be esteemed by all those who love that wonderland of the Yosemite.

The Giant Sequoia. An Account of the History and Characteristics of the Big Trees of California. By Rodney Sydes Ellsworth. Oakland: J. D. Berger, 1924. 167 pp. 12 pls. 8°.

To judge by his bibliography, the ambitious author of this work has scanned nearly every book and article written about the Big Tree, his professed object being "to effect a symmetrical presentation if possible of both the popular and scientific aspects of the subject." His chapters deal with, *Sequoias of Yesterday and Today*, *Giant Sequoias of the Mariposa Grove*, and *Naming the Sequoia*. There is a very interesting account of Galen Clark and his discovery of the Mariposa Grove. The greater part of the work is devoted to a description of this one grove and the numerous other stands and forests come in for only the barest mention. Also, the Cherokee Indian, Sequoyah, for whom it is merely conjectured that the Big Tree was named, is treated to a biography of some twenty pages.

General attractiveness and some literary merit, will doubtless secure for this book a ready sale among the many who are interested in its fascinating subject matter.

This may not be regarded as an unqualified blessing. Errors are numerous and egregious; especially in the first chapter where the ac-

count of the fossil record of the Sequoia is, to say the least, confused.

The Age of Reptiles is called the "Miocene." Not a "scrap of evidence" it is said, remains of the continued existence of reptiles beyond the "Miocene." Of all the life that flourished before the Age of Mammals "only the Sequoia escaped utter destruction." "Rarest of all tree species," the Sequoia is termed. The Redwood is found south only as far as the "bay of Monterey"! These statements it is fair to say were probably not among those submitted to "various Professors of the University of California from whom the author as a student and friend has received many helpful criticisms and suggestions."

CHARLES L. CAMP.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

On Tuesday, August 26, Mr. Lewis F. Byington addressed the members of the Society on "Early Mining Days in Sierra County."

Downieville, the center of this county, was one of the liveliest spots in the gold regions, and the surrounding country tributary thereto produced an enormous amount of gold. Some of the finds were phenomenal, according to Mr. Byington, who gave several striking instances of the good luck of some of the early miners. As a prosperous place the town drew to itself a large number of able men—lawyers, doctors, etc.—who afterwards scattered to various other parts of the state, many holding positions of great importance under the state and county governments. The speaker gave a long list of these, with some characteristic anecdotes about several of the best known.

Mr. Byington spoke of the finding of the famous Monumental nugget near Sierra City; and after he had concluded his address, Mr. John B. Farish, who antedated Mr. Byington in Sierra county by several years, told of the finding of this nugget in a mine which it seems was partly owned by his brother. Mr. Farish has kindly given us an account of the occurrence, which we print elsewhere in this issue.

"The names of California's original Spanish families are vanishing from our land," said Mr. George H. Barron in his address before the Society on Tuesday, September 23. Mr. Barron, who is curator of the Golden Gate Park Museum, was introduced by Vice-President Robert E. Cowan as an authority on the genealogy of the early California families.

"Only a few of these family names are now to be found in the northern part of the state, although there are more survivors south of Tehachapi," Mr. Barron said. "In some northern places a few female members of these Spanish families still exist, their identity being merged with new comers through marriage. But male representatives of the old families are scarce. The Anglo-Saxon race supplanted the former inhabitants. The generous, free handed Spaniards saw their lands and haciendas slipping away from them, and as they realized that they no longer were able to maintain families in the way to which they were accustomed, many remained unmarried, and the sons who would have perpetuated these proud names were never born."

Mr. Barron reported that within the past month he has had three

surprises. The first was a visit from the great grandnephew of Father Crespi, the noted diarist, who accompanied Father Junipero Serra; the second was a visit from the granddaughter of Dana, who wrote "Two Years before the Mast." For years he had searched for a member of the family of Dr. Robert Semple and at last he had succeeded in finding a grandniece of the distinguished pioneer, who with Judge Colton at Monterey edited the first American paper in this state, "The Californian."

